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ABSTRACT

The psychological, economic, and educational effects of sex stereotyping of children are the subjects of this resource book addressed, primarily, to teachers in elementary schools. Research has pointed out the fact that children of both sexes view maleness as more valued than femaleness. Some chapters in this book stress the importance of equal access, equal opportunity, and equal treatment for all school children. Other chapters focus on differences between the educational performance of boys and girls, emphasizing the fact that these differences are not physiological or psychological in nature but rather the result of cultural expectations. Specific suggestions for teachers on the ways these cultural factors may be tempered are discussed. (JD)

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SEX EQUITY IN ILLINOIS SCHOOLS

PROBLEMS, RESEARCH and REMEDIES

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SP 012 952

Jack Witkowsky, Chairman
State Board of Education

Joseph M. Cronin
State Superintendent of Education

Women's Educational Equity Task Force

Fall, 1977

FOREWORD

It is time to implement state and federal laws which ban gender-based discrimination in our schools, not discuss whether these laws should be implemented.

The psychological, economic, and educational effects of restricting potential of human beings because of sex is well documented. Several of the chapters in this book, Sex Equity in Illinois Schools, address the damage done by sex-role stereotyping. Children still view maleness as more valued than femaleness. For a majority of Illinois citizens to grow up seeing themselves as less valued persons cannot be permitted to happen any longer.

Not all social problems can be solved through the work of the schools. Fortunately, however, providing equal access, equal opportunity, and equal treatment to all school children can be an achievable goal. Chapters in this book specifically address implementing this goal.

Other chapters focus on differences between males and females in reading, mathematics, English, and sports. These differences are not physiological or psychological in nature. The differences in educational performances of males and females are due to cultural expectations. Such cultural expectations are changing, however. This change requires that we look at school children as invididuals, not as groups either male or female. Some girls will be stronger and faster than boys. Some boys will be better spellers than some girls. Some boys and girls will want to explore the same careers or vocations their parents had. Others will want to be different. The schools of Illinois must be and can be open enough to allow similarity--and differences.

Teachers are a part of the culture they teach about and transmit to students. Teachers can help change the primary culture, and have. It isn't easy to have one's values or expectations questioned or changed. It can be uncomfortable, but providing equal access, equal treatment, and equal opportunity is the correct course of action. Most of these chapters provide specific suggestions to teachers and administrators.

One chapter provides cold, hard statistics about leadership opportunities in Illinois schools. There are fewer women heading Illinois school districts and schools in 1977 than there were in 1950. This is a trend that must be reversed. Leadership abilities reside in both sexes.

Another chapter concerns itself with multicultural conflicts which teachers will face in providing equal opportunity for Hispanic children. By understanding the Hispanic values, teachers can more effectively enhance equal treatment of the sexes with less conflict.

This resource text is a product of the Women's Educational Equity Task Force in the Illinois Office of Education. Primary responsibility for compiling and editing the chapters went to Dr. Sally F. Pancrazio, Manager, Research and Statistics Section, with editing assistance from Sue Jones Troute, Sex Equity Supervisor, and Edie Byrne, Assistant Manager, Bilingual Education Section.

I join the Women's Educational Equity Task Force in dedicating Sex Equity in Illinois Schools to the school children of Illinois.

Joseph M Cronin

Joseph M. Cronin
State Superintendent of Education

Springfield, Illinois

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CHAPTER 1

THAT'S WHAT I'M NOT MADE OF: CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON SEX STEREOTYPING

Jacqueline Jackson
Sangamon State University

Sugar and Spice and Everything Nice,
That's what I'm not made of,
I'm not dainty, I'm not sweet,
And I don't sit quietly in my seat.
And I am mischievous in my girlhood pranks,
And I used to play with toy army tanks.
Sugar and Spice and everything nice,
That's what I'm not made of!

Theresa, 6th grade

WHAT'S FOR ME?

Girls are sweet,
Girls are polite,
Girls are all sugar and spice,
Yuck,
That's not for me.
That's not just right,
Boys are better,
Now that's right,
Boys are funner,
Boys are messier
Boys are dirtier,
Now that's for me!

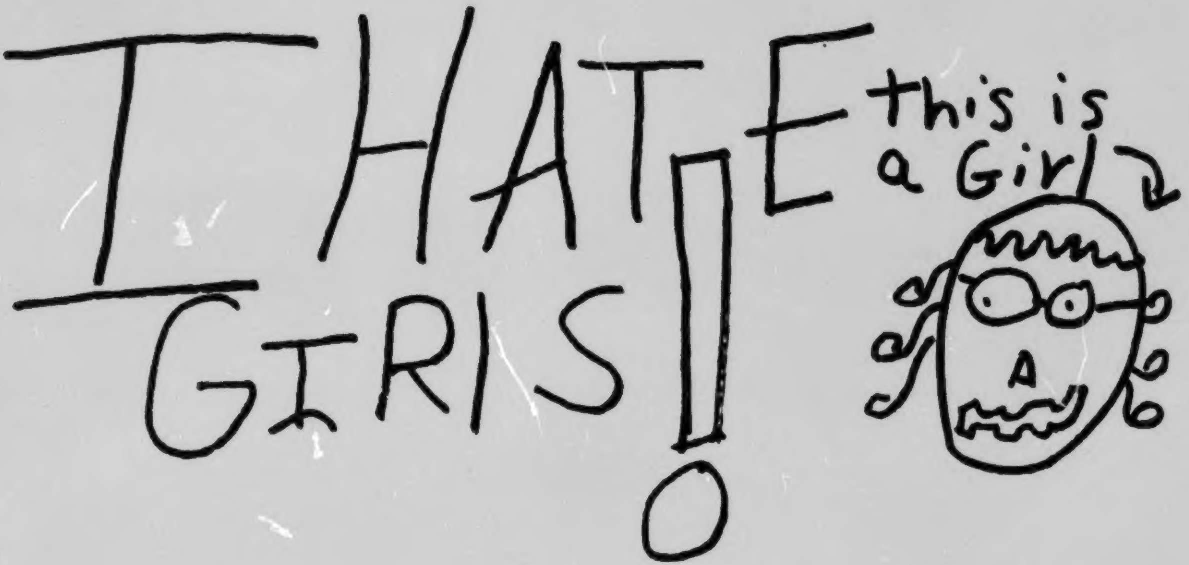
Lisa, 6th grade

Ms. Jackson, Associate Professor of Literature, Sangamon State University, has had many short stories, children's novels, and picture books published. Her major focus is children's literature. This article is based on her radio program with WSSR.

If I was a girl I would go crazy trying on dresses and getting their ears pierced and putting on make-up.

I hate girls because they take so darn long to get ready to go some where, and they want to play house. It just makes me sick to even think of me as a GIRL!!!! I have more stuff I hate about them but I don't want to write about them. I HATE GIRLS!

Billy, 5th grade



I think that women should do what men do, if they think they're so smart. Because they can't lift things very well. They should only do women's work like working in a store. They couldn't fix a car. They couldn't fix a house. Or they couldn't be a janitor. They might be a cleaning lady. They would drop things all over the floors and bust up everything. Drill the wrong things. Put the seatbelts in the trunk. Put the spare in the front.

Jeff, 5th grade

> I think I would like to stay a boy because I think boys have more fun. I live on a farm and I'm busy all the time. I like to play baseball and if I were a girl I couldn't play because girls aren't any good!!! If I were a girl, I would die of boredom.
>
> Vince, 6th grade

> I am happy being a boy. I would never be a girl. Girls are sissies they try to be more like boys, but boys would never want to be like them. They have to have everything their way or else they cry.
>
> Donnie, 3rd grade

Apparently, in central Illinois at any rate, girls aren't all that happy being girls; and boys, if forced to change, would become ill or die of boredom. The above writings, along with some thousand or more essays on the subject of being boys or girls, were sent to me last year (1975-76) in response to a broadcast called "Sugar and Snails" over my radio program, Reading and Writing and Radio.

"Sugar and Snails" was on sexuality. In the course of the 20-minute broadcast I explained certain words: stereotype, role, conditioning. I described how we were often put into boxes on account of our sex, and described the traditional "girl box" and "boy box":

> "Girls are weak, boys are strong; girls like to play house, boys like to rough house; boys do things, girls watch and applaud; boys grow up to be doctors, lawyers, astronauts, presidents, executives; girls grow up to be mothers. They may also be, for awhile, secretaries, teachers, nurses, stewardesses, but they mustn't take that too seriously. And when they're mothers they live at home and they wear an apron and they exist somewhere in another world to make fathers and children happy."

I suggested that we were all the losers by being confined to these boxes, and discussed human liberation--liberation to be ourselves without being held back by stereotypes. I told how times were beginning to change. For writing, I asked that could they be born again, would they wish to remain the sex they were or try being the opposite sex? I invited them to write in how they felt about being a boy or a girl, their "girl" experiences or "boy" stories, or (more difficult) to try imagining what it would be like to be the opposite sex, and write from that point of view.

The volume of response was staggering. Right now I want to warn you that this paper is not "scientific research." Please don't look for graphs, charts, statistics, irrefutable conclusions. They aren't here. This is a subjective account, with illustrations, of the papers I and my reader assistant waded through (an occasional one plunging us under!) and the impressions I received from the whole. Oh, we attempted categorization: "Boys Glad to Be Boys (Right Reasons)" "Boys Glad to Be Boys (Wrong Reasons)," "right" being for us the non-stereotypes, but who decides exactly what is a stereotype, or whether it's being rightly or wrongly used? Take a story I quoted as an example of good writing in the program manual for this year; I will give my commentary first: "This little essay is not vague; it freshly, specifically, and personally shows how Danny sees himself (and by implication, all boys) stronger than the "weaker" sex. We may protest the implication or counter with a story about girls' strength, but we can't deny that his example is true for him, and gives a very vivid picture. It is unique and genuine."

> The reason that I like being a boy is because they are strong. Every time my grandma says "I cannot open this!" I always open it. And when she says, "I cannot close it tight enough," I always close it.
>
> Danny, 5th grade

We would have needed subheadings under subheadings for the category "Contradictory" or "Mixed"--or perhaps, "Inclusive":

> I don't think women should be allowed to be President because they wouldn't know how to run the government.
>
> It's not just women drivers that are bad because my mother has been hit three times by men drivers.
>
> If they want to do men's jobs let them do men's jobs but don't let them play in sports like football, basketball, and baseball. If they want to they can start their own sports teams. If women can do men's jobs then men can do women's jobs. Most women work in the house. Some women do men's jobs just as good as the men do. A lot of men don't want women doing the same jobs they do because they know some women can do them just as good as they can.
>
> Doug

> I like being a boy because they do so much neat stuff like being an astronaut.
>
> Sometimes I like being a girl because they can do acrobats. Sometimes I like being both.
>
> Sometimes I don't like being a boy because they get yelled at so much.
>
> Sometimes I don't like being a girl because they get spoiled.
>
> Sometimes I don't like being either one.
>
> Eddie, 3rd grade

An occasional bit defied classification of any sort, particularly under the drab "Miscellaneous:"

> I was born a girl and that's something that can't happen to a boy.
>
> Cathy, 3rd grade

> . . . anyway girls are manery people and I would like to be a boy, but I am a girl but I can pretend I am a boy I have to aprichite that I am something.
>
> Anonymous, 5th grade

> . . . But I'm still glad I'm at least one of them.
>
> Connie, 5th grade

> I like being a girl because I want to be a stewardess and fly to different countries. But I would like to be a boy because I would (like) to explore the moon, and I want (to) see how much fun it is. Also I want to drive a train and go to different states, but I don't want to be a boy a little bit because some people say "boys go to Jupiter to get more stupider, girls go to Mars to get more candy bars."
>
> Becky, 3rd grade

We ended up loosely classifying, and I will share examples of the various types of papers with you, with rough estimates on how widespread we found the viewpoint to be. Among boys, the vast majority were glad they were boys, and would rather die than switch. They often took sneering looks at the advantages they see girls having; such as not getting blamed, being teachers pets, "getting to get in front of the line" (Philip, 4th grade) or:

> I don't see why girls complain about jobs and work because the husband makes the money for the girls. And all the girls have to do is sit at home. If I was a girl I wouldn't complain, and I would rather be a boy like I am, than a girl.
>
> Brad, 5th grade

> . . . Some advantages of being a girl would be I would not be expected to do hard things and I would be favored.
>
> Elliot, 5th grade

> Being a boy has disadvantages too, like having to take out the garbage and burn the trash and more is expected of you.
>
> Tom, 6th grade

Or more soberly:

> There was a time when I wished I was a girl and it was when I heard that boys die faster than girls.
>
> Mark, 4th grade

But these hesitations rarely outweighed the thankfulness of being a boy. The prevailing tone was swaggering male arrogance:

> I think women's lib is retarded, stupid, crazy, and pebbleheaded. That's the truth. Us guys can't help it because we are better than they are. Because if we weren't they wouldn't have women's lib.
>
> Us guys are smart. We stay out of this liberation nonsense. Besides we got better things to do. We play football, baseball, and all sorts of things. Libbers think they can do it as good as we can. I could see a lady quarterback standing there when all the rushers are coming at her. She would probably throw her pocketbook instead of the football.*
>
> David, 6th grade

Occasionally a wistful edge crept in, to be brushed away as rapidly as a single tear from a young male eye:

> I'm glad I'm a boy because you can slug a grand slam with one blow to win over the girls because we're strong. But I'm not saying girls are weak. I wish I was made to be a girl, because my mother would be with me more. But boy rates higher than girl to me. So, boy it is and boy will stay.
>
> Tim, 4th grade

Violence as a virtue, only occasionally present in the girls' papers, was startlingly frequent in the boys':

---

*David adds an interesting viewpoint beyond the subject: "Now us kids could get something done. We could go on strike from school. That's when the action will be taken. We could stop anything from wars to women's lib. If we didn't get anything done, it wouldn't be so bad growing up ignorant. That's what I think about women's lib."

> I like being a boy because boys are stronger than girls. The boys and men gets dirty and the girls have to clean it up. If a burglar comes into the house the women scream and the men FIGHT! The men become heroes and the girls don't.
>
> John, 3rd grade

> I like to be a boy because boys cannot cry girls can and boys can run faster than girls. Also boys are stronger than girls so they can beat girls up. I'm going to be a scientist and hit girls on the head with a bone.
>
> Tim, 3rd grade

The violence sometimes becomes frightening:

> I like to be a boy because we are rough and tough. I don't think girls can do anything! Boys can do everything like play baseball (with a hardball) and play handball and fish and climb on roofs and go to boys camps and beat up people and beat girls in bike races and go to Mars and climb a tree, kill flys, shoot real loaded guns, and kill people. Girls can't do any of those!
>
> Anonymous, 4th grade

Boys' ability to fight, with sanction, was only exceeded in theme by their prowess in sports. Sports listings were often combined with other aspects, as above, or comprised an entire paper. These listings of superiority, in every third or fourth male essay, became a dreary refrain to us. The girls' papers also gave dreary lists, but theirs were the other side of the coin, and bitter:

> I don't know of any advantages to being a girl because you're supposed to get married, have kids that are little angels, wear dainty white dresses, stand over a stove and cook all day, and keep a clean house. You can never play basketball, baseball, football, or kickball, and you have to keep your hair brushed.
>
> Vita, 6th grade

Girls' inability to appreciate (or even own) the rougher forms of wildlife met with scorn, as did their predilection for cats, enough times for us to remark on it:

> If I was a girl, I would not be able to have snakes or hampsters. I would have cats.
>
> Steve, 4th grade

There was an occasional naive exception:

> I like to be a boy, because girls don't like snakes and frogs and snails, except my sister.
>
> John, 3rd grade

There were only a few papers where boys expressed real discomfort with male stereotyping. The following is the best expressed:

> What I think about the stereotypes for boys can be put in one word XXXXXXXX CENSORED (Ha-Ha, sorry but I couldn't resist it.) At any rate why shouldn't I hate that "box"? I'm a . . . bookworm. I'd rather stay inside and play chess or read a book than to go out and play baseball and basketball and on the few times that I do, I'm not too good and I pass up any of the Kong Craze and Pop Werner things. But the thing that really bugs me is that some of the other kids who go out for sports just won't take me for what I am, they're always calling me the "Brain" or "The Mad Scientist!" Usually I don't mind it but sometimes it can get very, very exasperating as you can imagine. I mean why should they go around needling me. I don't go around calling them names. And even now I'm holding back from calling them names in this writing! I'd like to call some of them a bunch of _______ CENSORED or call each of them a _______ CENSORED. I hate the stereotype for boys.
>
> Anonymous, 6th grade

When it came to boys putting themselves in the place of girls and trying to feel the advantages or constrictions, we received only a handful of essays. Most combined imagining being a girl with why they preferred being a boy:

> I'm a boy, but I'm going to put myself in the place of a girl in this story. So for now I'll be Jane Doe. Today I am going shopping with my sister, Dane Joe. (Notice the similarity in names!)
>
> "Oh, what a cute skirt!" I said looking in a department store window. "I have to have it!!" said I on my knees with my fingers on the glass.
>
> So we went in, and while we were passing through the toy department, my eyes locked on to a "Baby Alive" doll.
>
> "Oh my, I must have it!!!" said I.
>
> Yecck! Who needs it?!?!
>
> If you're a boy and your parents have company over, usually they'll let you go do something. But if you're a girl you have to stay there, sit down, shut up, and look pretty and polite.
>
> I like it the way I am.
> (I hope you know I just about passed out writing that first part.)
>
> John, 6th grade

This essay, still fairly strongly "male" in point of view, seems to switch at the end, to disadvantages of being a girl:

> I think there are some good things about being a girl. For one thing I like to bake and when you're a boy your mom says its girls work. Another thing is you can let your hair grow long and then there's marriage. A girl can let the boy do all the work. First proposing. The boy has to, and she gets his last name.
>
> Then she has a kid. There's alot of worry that he won't turn out right and you have a lot of shots.
>
> Peter, 5th grade

Out of our total response, only one boy put himself in the role of a girl (to us, an admittedly stereotyped or "girlish" one) and found the fit comfortable:

> If I were a girl I'd like it. I'd play with other girls. I'd wear my best clothes. Show off in front of the boys. I'd play house and jump rope as girls do. And wear lipstick and makeup. I'd have a purse with flowers and put a pocketbook in it and a brush for my

> long hair. And I'd think my name would be Janet. I'd have a doll named Miss Beasley. She'd be fed three times a day. Then I'd go fix my bed every morning. I'd wash my hands and brush my teeth.

Anonymous, 5th grade

I conferred with friends of mine, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, as well as other colleagues, as to whether to read this paper over the radio. All answered (including women) an emphatic NO. My very asking indicated my own doubts. Could it have been done anonymously, as in this article. Yes. But this was impossible in our rather homey broadcasting situation. Even had I omitted his name, the boy, listening in his classroom, might have given away that this was his paper--and have wondered why his name was not mentioned. He'd have soon learned. Given our current social mores, it would be almost impossible for his teachers, town and classmates not to brand him as an incipient homosexual.

But it is perfectly okay for girls to want to be boys, no stigma there! Glance back at the first poems that opened this article. Then catch a boy getting away with the following paper; try substituting "sissy" for "tomboy" (and note, too, that the term for a boyish girl is not pejorative, while there is no equal emotional term for a girlish boy):

> I'm glad I'm what I am because I'm half girl and half boy. I'm a tomboy so I don't have to be either. I like playing with dolls and I like playing football, so I don't have to be sugar or a snail. (I would like it better if I weren't all girl) I like flowers and snow and basketball and baseball. I like to play nice and rough-house. I like snakes. I like bears. I like anything. I'm girlish and boyish.

Lynette, 4th grade

By the hundreds, girls wrote wanting to be boys, chafing at the restrictions of being girls:

> I think it would be neat to be a boy because you would never have to wear a dress and play with dolls. I hate dolls and dresses because when you go somewhere special you always have to wear a dress. And if your mother sees your legs apart a little bit she would say cross your legs like a little lady.
>
> Dawn, 6th grade

> I sure wish I was a boy. Boys are very lucky. Girls are supposed to be sissies. They have to wear dresses, pigtales. Boys are very strong, girls are weak. In some ways girls are lucky. They are mom's best friend. But also boys sometimes go to Army and Navy and Airforce and get killed. Girls should not have to. I'm not a sissy I'm a tomboy. I always get picked on and teased by my brothers. Sometimes I wish I could really slug them good. That would teach them.
>
> Cindy, 5th grade

The tone of the girls-wishing-to-be-boys ranged from resignation, to mild exasperation, to vehement passion:

> I wouldn't mind being a girl if we got to do the things boys do. Girls are always supposed to be quiet (unfortunately) good at sewing (not me) a good housekeeper (you're kidding?). All of these things and more girls are supposed to do. Sometimes it's OK, like when it's 97 degrees out, the girls get the coolest room. They get new clothes. But still.
>
> Jenifer 6th grade

> The reason why I like being a girl is because boys aren't supposed to hit me. Mostly, I like to be a boy, because then I can do a lot of sports. If I had a choice of what I wanted to be, I'd pick a boy. I really hate being a girl because you can't even call people by their last name! You can't even do men's jobs! That's not fair! Men can do most women's jobs so why can't we just do one of theirs? All women can do is knit, sew, and things like that. Ugh! I can't stand it! Men think women can't do anything! I hate it!
>
> Paige, 4th grade

The girls were more sensitive than the boys at smelling out a stereotype and decrying it:

> I hate being a girl because your mom and dad always say act like a young lady and you can't go chase cattle or help fix a fence or something like that. And you got to help around the house and I

don't like it. And people say that girls are weak and can't beat up boys. And they say that girls are teachers pet and that is not true. I hate being a girl.

Pam, 4th grade

Most girls want to be boys. But the boys don't want to be girls. Do you know why? Because girls have to bake and cook and sew. And boys get to play baseball and basketball and football. But girls are lucky if they can get to play a game of kickball. Sometimes I'm glad I'm a girl and other times I wish I were a boy. Boys are tough and when you think of wrestling you think of boys. Boys think they're better than girls, but they're not.

Dawn, 4th grade

I am a girl, but I don't like it. Because a girl always has to do the dishes, clean house, wear dresses, be nice and talk nice. I'd rather be a boy because I like to fight, get dirty, work on cars and play baseball. I like to climb trees, pop wheelies on my bike and there are more reasons. But there are reasons that I would not like to be a boy. Some of them are because you always get in trouble. If you break a window you get grounded. If you hit your sister they tell Mom or Dad and then you get hit with a belt. My brothers say it is not fun being a boy because you have to carry water, stay outside, and be nice to your sisters.

Dixie, 6th grade

Girls get wistful, too:

Being a girl is like being in a cage. Because you have to wash the dishes. You have to clean the house and help cook the meals. And you don't get to go with your dad to work. But if I was a boy I would go to work with my dad. And I would do a lot of things with my dad.

Barbie, 5th grade

They listed specific injuries:

A disadvantage of being a girl is . . . When your class challenges another class to a softball game and the boys get to play and the girls have to sit and watch.

Martha, 5th grade

> I would like to be a boy because I like sports. And my mom bought my brother shoes I liked. But she said, you're going to wear little girls shoes.
>
> Patty, 4th grade

I rank the order of girls' complaints to be sports, clothes, manners, and chores. (Only one paper, a boy's, said, "We divide the chores equally in our family and rotate them.") Two or three girls looked ahead to motherhood; those few felt having a baby was a feminine plus. No boy looked ahead to fatherhood. Boys got no farther than anxiety about their expected sexual role--note Peter, having to propose, above, and Jeff:

> I don't think it would be so bad being a girl because you would be asked out by a boy. To go dining and dancing. And you would not have to ask him.
>
> Jeff, 5th grade

Several also noted the advantage of being a boy when it comes to childbirth:

> If I was reborn again, I would be a boy. I would want to be a boy so I could play football and have a man's job when I grow up. Because of the sexes, I would want to be a boy so I can't have a baby. About the equal rights, I think women belong working at a woman's job, not sports, and even in this school girls play everything us boys play. I would not want to be a girl because some of the girls are big sissies. I like the kind of girls that are not sissies.
>
> Drew, 5th grade

It was hard to find an unalloyed "glad to be a girl" paper other than the "I am a Tomboy" and "I can be both ha ha" variety. When these did surface, the girl was happy with all the traditional girlish roles, and pointed her clean finger at the boys:

> I like to be a girl because we can play house and jump rope. We can play with dolls. Boys just run around and get into meaness. Boys like to run around together. Boys like to tear a girl's club house down and like to spy.
>
> Karen, 5th grade

Most girls saw scarcely any disadvantages in being boys, though Cindy, earlier, and now Gina mention war:

> There are many advantages to being a girl. For instance nobody thinks anything about a girl playing basketball or baseball, but if a boy plays with Barbie Dolls or some other thing a girl does, he gets teased and called a sissy. Another advantage is that boys have to go to war, and have to support their family. One disadvantage to being a girl is nobody, even other girls think you do anything. For instance, you might do laundry, clean out kitchen cabinets, vacuum and dust, make beds, etc., and your husband comes home and you're sitting down. He will probably say, "you think you're tired. I've been working all day." But he don't notice what you've done until you get sick and he has to do it all. Thats why I like being a girl.
>
> Gina, 5th grade

And the "glad to be girls" girls, who fit the girl stereotypes, found boys' meanness (as above), boisterousness, messiness, and general "boyish" stereotypic traits to be undesirable. On the whole, girls felt that the advantages of being a girl did not balance out the privileges accorded boys.

> The advantage of being a girl, is, that in school, boys are always talking and are always being wild. Girls don't run around the rooms like boys do (Usually!) The boys get in more trouble. (Fortunately!)
>
> But my mom is always saying, "Wear a dress tomorrow.", "Don't go on the trails in the park." I can't stand it. Why can't I just be a girl that wears jeans all the time, plays baseball, and can go hiking?!?!?!?!
>
> Amy, 6th grade

Several girls, as well as boys, believed that much more is expected of boys:

A girl can be fun, because we get all the easy jobs.

Judy, 6th grade

There were a number of reasoned--if sometimes plaintive or belligerent--essays from both boys and girls, seeing beyond the stereotypes:

> . . . I like being a girl, but I surely don't like to be thought of as something so fragile and delicate that if you're not too careful it will easily break.
>
> I hope that someday people will start judging girls for what they are, and not for what they should be.
>
> Theresa, 6th grade

> I think women can do most things men can do. They can do carpet laying, be carpenters, presidents, and maybe in the Army as fighters. Already there are plumbers as girls. There are garbagewomen and firewomen.
>
> Women should also get married and be housewives. They should have children. Not all women should do this but some should.
>
> Soon women will be blasting off to space because of women's liberation. They will be doing all kinds of things men haven't even done most likely. Like diving down to the bottom of the ocean.
>
> Soon they may be in the Indianapolis 500 race.
>
> Running all those miles in the marathon some year.
>
> Steve, 6th grade

> Every since the late eighteenth century, when only a few mills and craft shops were scattered about the thirteen colonies, that made up the United States, the American life style has taken a set pattern, a pattern unbroken until the final quarter of this century.
>
> This pattern consists of a man, his wife, his kids, and his house. The pattern goes like this: The man gets up, gets dressed, the wife fixes him breakfast, he goes to work, leaving his wife with kids and a house to clean.
>
> During the early 1800's, when cities and factory work were on the rise, the pattern was unbroken, man gets up, man gets dressed, and so on.

About a century later, women had to be employed because of the world wars. After World War II, women began taking jobs, and the pattern was greatly changed; women broke into sports, politics, and even the armed forces. Women owned property, managed offices, and worked in factories.

The pattern has changed greatly, but it could be changed more. Today the pattern goes more like this: man gets up, gets dressed, goes downstairs and sees note: Sorry honey, had to work early, fix your own breakfast!

Ted, 8th grade

The advantages of being a boy are nothing, there is nothing super great about being a boy and there is nothing super great about being a girl. If you're a girl you are a girl and you have to make the best of it, for instance if you want to be a lawyer and you are a girl you're gonna have to work really hard and the same with a boy. Take another subject like sports if you want to be a basketball player and you're a girl you would really have to work hard and practice and the same with a boy. So that's my point of view.

John, 6th grade

In my own opinion a boy is better at some things than a girl, and a girl is better at other things than a boy. As if it really matters. If you were born a boy or a girl be proud of it. God made you what you are for a reason. I think anything about sugar and snails is bull. When you say you are better than one person you are judging that person and no one has the right to do that except God. I am a boy and would not want to be anything else but me. This is my opinion about this subject but don't give me that bull about sugar and snails. Thank you for letting me express my opinion.

Chris, 8th grade

Girls are supposed to be in a little dress, stay out of the dirt, don't play with boys because they'll get hurt, and be nice to everyone. Well, I could mention more but that's enough to point one idea out. Girls are people too, we want to have fun in our life too. I'd just like to put some boys in a dress and make them wear one everyday and see how they like it. Then make them play with dolls and be nice to everyone.

Boys are supposed to be tough, mean, rotten, and nonhouseworkable and more. Boys think that they're so tough, like if their playing a kickball game no girls are allowed because girls just cry if they get hurt by them. Boys always pull girls hair. They're never supposed to do housework except to take the trash out and sometimes not even that.

> Girls can't do everything that a boy can do. Boys can't do everything a girl can do. But girls are no weaker than boys. Boys and girls should be equal. Should is a strong word in this sentence because we should be equal but we're not.
>
> Robin, 7th grade

It is beyond this paper's scope to take up in depth the point someone will surely raise: "It is natural for the sexes to hate each other at this age." Maybe. But how does that explain boys' overwhelming preference to be boys, and girls' overwhelming preference to be boys, or tomboys? A number of men, and a few boys, have confessed to me that their favorite childhood friend was a girl, but that they had to hide this from their male friends, even to playing with her secretly. Peer pressure plays a tremendous role in sexual attitudes; I might suggest we investigate what are the roots of this peer pressure. I would be more sympathetic with the "natural hate" view if I saw large proportions of girls and boys in their teen years, when the sexes start being attracted to each other, and men and women too, rid themselves of these confining stereotypes. But I don't.

Nor will I deal adequately here with ways I think the schools can help the stereotyping problem. There needs to be concerted effort. Much is being written, and a little done, on that major thorn, sexism in the sports program. I'm not at all sure the schools have recognized that they need to urge parents to clothe their schoolgirls as comfortably and sturdily as their boys. I buy all my 12-year-old daughter's school clothes in the boy's departments; boys clothes are built for "wear."

> I would not want to be a girl because I would have to wear dresses. And because you wear skirts and people can look under your skirts and dresses. And because you have to carry purses. And because you have to wear all that iky gook all over your face. Like lipstick, rouge, and eye makeup.
>
> John, 5th grade

There is also an astonishing amount of misinformation in the papers of both sexes. You recall, "boys are strong and girls are weak," "all girls have to do is sit at home," and "men can do most women's jobs so why can't we just do one of theirs?" ("Except Avon lady," one practical boy pointed out.) Surely the schools can do a great deal by presenting the truth. Men's musculature _is_ stronger than women's, on the average, but women are constitutionally stronger, to Mark's fleeting distress. It's got a lot to do with that short Y gene of males, and it's why we live longer. And how about kids doing a time-work study on a mother with small children, and a man or woman in an office? I recollect that my day, with three preschoolers, was 18 hours long, no coffee breaks either, and averaged two or three nightcalls!

Teachers also need consciousness-raising in treating the sexes without stereotypes. My child said, indignantly, "The chairs came today and the boys got to unload the truck and _we_ had to sweep the room, and most of us are bigger than the boys!" Classroom teachers must also hold up more varied role models for both boys and girls--including the assertive, achieving woman, and the gentle, compassionate male. And I could write a whole book on sexism in text and trade books.

I do not have any brisk conclusions from the "data" of this article. I'm discouraged that after eight or nine years of national ferment on this subject, after all our heightened consciousnesses, and after hearing a program specifically encouraging them to examine and think beyond stereotypes, that so many students displayed rampant sexism in their papers. We have a long, long way to go in breaking down the traditional stereotypes that have such a firm lock on our children. It says more about our adult society than it says about them.

I'm encouraged that the girls, while many aren't yet seeing the numerous ways opening out of their cages, are yet recognizing the bars and being vocal. When I was a grade schooler and the boys' side of the playground boasted basketball courts which we girls were not allowed to use, it never occured to me to object nor even to question why we had a boys' and girls' side, where the sexes never mixed. Elspeth, 12, reading this article on the kitchen table after it was typed, and riffling through the stacks of papers I hadn't space to use, exclaimed, "Oh, this is awful! Just look at all those boys growing up to be male chauvinists!" and a bit later, "The girls don't cut down the boys near as much as the boys cut down the girls." My impression is that the boys do do most of the cutting down, and the girls protest, but the boys run down the girl stereotype ("I like the kind of girls that are not sissies") while the girls who protest, also protest the girl stereotype ("Yuck, that's not for me").

I'm dismayed that so few boys recognize there is a cage for them, and that they are so smug. Brian, 5th grade, "I like being a boy because when girls hit you it doesn't hurt."

I guess I'm glad that the feelings are often vehement, that this subject touches a nerve. I'm certainly glad, as a teacher of writing, for I know that strong feelings usually make the deepest and best written papers. But I'm not so sure, in my work, where to channel these feelings to result in lessened sexism. In compiling and writing this article, I have become aware of my continuing responsibility next year to follow up the "Sugar and Snails" program with another one on sexism, using these papers, perhaps, and coming at the topic of human liberation in other ways. I'm glad that a few papers did come in that showed a budding understanding of human liberation.

I realize the responsibility is not all mine. I'm heartened to note that whole classrooms show the mark of a teacher (or school ethos?) who is definitely trying to reduce sexism and make the children aware of role limitation. These are few, but spottable.

And I am delighted with this refreshing paper which, while it may reflect a certain sort of "-ism," certainly isn't sexism:

> I wouldn't care if I were either a boy or a girl, just so I'm a Knoepfle.
>
> Chris Knoepfle, 5th grade

Now that's for me!

CHAPTER 2

SEX DIFFERENCES IN READING ACHIEVEMENT

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Boys in American elementary schools are far more likely than girls to have serious reading problems. Surveys of remedial reading programs repeatedly indicate that boys are represented in numbers far greater than their proportion in school (Blom, 1971). In some districts 90% of the remedial reading students are boys and the average across districts appears to be about 70 - 75%. Achievement test data also reveal boys' greater difficulty with reading (Gates, 1961; Stroud & Lindquest, 1942). In the middle elementary school years boys are about one-third to one-half grade equivalent years behind girls (e.g., Asher & Gottman, 1973).

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (1972) provides a picture of sex differences in reading across age. In 1971 a national sample of nine, thirteen, and seventeen year olds were tested along with a sample of adults (ages 26-35). Girls consistently outperformed boys on reading comprehension tasks such as identifying significant facts and main ideas in passages. Only in the adult population did the sex difference disappear. A second survey taken in 1975 (NAEP, 1976) found quite similar results; nine, thirteen, and seventeen year olds were tested and at each age level sex differences were obtained.

Along with difficulties in reading, boys experience a number of potentially related problems. Boys are more likely to be disruptive

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or aggressive in class (e.g., Peterson, 1961). On attitude surveys they are found to be more negative to school in general (Berk, Rose, & Stewart, 1970) and to reading in particular (Neale, Gill, & Tismer, 1970). Even within a school year the concomitants of poor reading performance are evident. Boys who are poor readers at the beginning of the school year appear more likely to show declines in self-concept and peer relations by the end of the year (Glick, 1972).

The high rate of early reading failure has long attracted the attention of American educators. Perhaps it is the incongruity of boys' early reading difficulty with their later career success that has made the problem of boys' early reading problems such an interesting one. Or perhaps the concern is an instance of subtle sexism in American education and educational research. Despite the fact that girls often experience difficulties with mathematics, remedial mathematics are not stressed in the schools. Furthermore, it is only recently that educational researchers have begun systematic research on girls' problems in mathematics (Fennema, 1974; Fox, 1974).

This paper will review the results of two lines of inquiry into boys' reading problems. From the mid-1960's to the 1970's there was considerable research directed toward the possibility that the predominance of female teachers in elementary schools was responsible for boys' poorer reading performance. Some researchers examined whether different reading achievement outcomes were associated with having a male or female teacher. Other investigators examined the way male and female teachers interacted with children to learn whether boys tended to be treated differently by male and female teachers. Both types of studies were aimed at learning whether boys profit from having male teachers. Somewhat more recently a different type of explanation has been explored. Perhaps the material children read in school is unappealing and boys would read as well as girls if they were given more interesting material to read. Some researchers interested in this hypothesis have done content analysis of the material children read in school. Other investigators have done experiments in which children are given high- and low-interest material and comprehension of each type of material is directly compared. The evidence that has emerged from each of these lines of inquiry will be reviewed.

Sex-of-Teacher Hypothesis

One of the stable features of American elementary school life is the predominance of teachers who are female. In 1960, 85.8% of elementary teachers were female and in 1970 the figure was 84.4% (NEA, 1970). The figures for the early elementary years are even more striking. About 98% of teachers in kindergarten through third grade are female (NEA, 1972). Furthermore, it doesn't appear that attempts to attract males to elementary school teaching have been very successful. At the University of Illinois in Urbana, for example, only 7% of undergraduates majoring in elementary education are male.

For a long time American educators have been suggesting that the predominance of female teachers in elementary schools might be responsible for boys' early school failure. In 1909, L. P. Ayres of the Russell Sage Foundation wrote a book called Laggards In Our Schools. Ayres documented the tendency for boys to repeat early grades and suggested that the phenomenon could be attributed to the dominance of female teachers: "In the current discussion of what has been termed the feminization of our schools much has been made of the alleged bad effects of too exclusively feminine instruction on the moral fiber and character of the boys but little evidence has been brought forward to substantiate these claims. Here we have indisputable evidence that there is more retardation among our boys than among our girls in the elementary schools" (Ayres, 1909; p. 157).

In 1964, Jerome Kagan of Harvard reported data that reawakened interest in the "sex-of-teacher" hypothesis. Second-grade children were found to sex-type school-related objects (e.g., blackboard, library) as feminine. Kagan suggested that children's view of school as feminine results in part from children's introduction to school by a teacher who is likely to be female and who is likely to approve of traditionally "feminine" behaviors such as obedience and decorum. Kagan also suggested that "the introduction of men into the primary grades, and an appreciation of the importance of creating a masculine atmosphere in the primary grades, may reduce the frequency of reading problems in young boys" (Kagan, 1964; p. 160).

More recent evidence has confirmed and extended Kagan's findings about children's perception of reading. Stein and Smithells (1969) found that second-, sixth-, and twelfth-grade children viewed reading, social studies, and art as feminine, and athletics, mechanical, and arithmetic areas as masculine. The tendency to view reading as a feminine activity actually increased over age. A study by Dwyer (1974) found that boys who sex-type reading as a feminine activity were less likely to be effective readers than boys who sex-type reading as masculine.

Data such as these are not surprising. There is a significant theme of anti-intellectualism in American life and our culturally ideal male is more likely to be associated with a six-shooter than a book.

The traditional American father, until recently at least, is likely to encourage his son to go out and play ball rather than spend his time "sitting around reading a book." The question is whether children's perception of reading as feminine is really attributable to any significant degree to the predominance of female elementary school teachers. Unfortunately no data exist on boys' and girls' sex-typing of reading prior to and following their entry to school. Although the data on children's perceptions of reading and boys' poorer reading performance are open to alternative interpretations, many educators and researchers in the 1960's appear to have leaned toward the "sex-of-teacher" hypothesis.

In addition to data on boys' perception of reading as feminine, there are three other sources of evidence often cited as support for the sex-of-teacher explanation. One is cross-cultural data on sex differences in reading comprehension. Preston (1962) reported test data on a large sample of German and American fourth- and sixth-graders. He found that boys in the United States were poorer readers than girls, but girls in Germany were poorer readers than boys. Preston tended to view his German data as the product of Germany's greater emphasis on learning and reading as part of the male role. He mentioned the fact that most of the elementary school teachers in Germany were male but he viewed this as an indication of the general cultural climate rather than a causal factor, per se. Nonetheless, the Preston data were interpreted by others as strong support for the view that the predominance of female elementary school teachers was responsible for boys' poorer performance. For example, in an article entitled, "Are our schools too skirted?" the author cites the Preston study as indicating that the high percentage of female teachers in American elementary schools probably accounts for the higher rate of reading difficulties experienced by boys (Baldauf, 1973).

Cross-cultural data can provide a useful perspective but the results should be interpreted with caution since many variables could account for differences obtained between nations. Johnson (1973) has recently reported data on reading comprehension in four countries. In the United States and Canada boys were found to read more poorly than girls. In Nigeria and England the boys' scores were somewhat higher than the girls'. It is certainly of interest that the majority of teachers in Nigeria and England were male, and that the majority of teachers in Canada and the United States were female. But as Johnson notes this is only one of the number of cultural variables that distinguish the countries studied.

Another source of evidence that later came to be viewed as support for the sex-of-teacher hypothesis was a study of the effects of programmed instruction on children's reading performance. McNeil (1964) found that kindergarten boys receiving computer-assisted instruction did as well as girls. One year later when the children were in a regular first-grade classroom taught by a female teacher, the boys' reading performance was worse than the girls'. These data can be interpreted in various ways. Ingle and Gephart (1966) have pointed out that sex differences in reading often do not appear until after kindergarten. Perhaps a group of kindergarten children receiving traditional kindergarten instruction would have shown no sex difference until first grade. Another possibility is that programmed instruction is particularly helpful in maintaining boys' attention. McNeil (1964) suggested this explanation of his data. Finally, there is the "sex-of-teacher" explanation which McNeil also offered as a possibility. This is the interpretation that was favored by those discussing the study in the years that followed.

A final line of research that could be viewed as providing support for the sex-of-teacher hypothesis is research on female teachers' classroom behavior and values. Studies of female teachers have found that they tend to reinforce traditionally "feminine" behavior in boys as well as girls (Fagot & Patterson, 1969), and they are more likely to reprimand boys than girls for disruptive behavior (Serbin, O'Leary, Kent, and Tonick, 1973). Feshbach (1969) has found that even student teachers seem to show a preference for behaviors which could be described as conforming and orderly as opposed to more nonconforming and untidy behavior. Here are two descriptions which Feshbach gave 200 female elementary school prospective teachers:

> Steve is working on a model for the space project. He decides to make a space capsule and works out a design for it. While he works he scatters glue, wood, and nails on the floor. When he can't find a piece of wood the right shape, he re-designs part of his model. When he catches his shirt on a nail, he pulls it loose carelessly. Although there is always a 10-minute cleanup period after a work project, Steve continues working on his model until the final bell rings.
>
> The children are learning how to handle and feed hamsters. The teacher asks David to help take them out of the cages for the food. Although David thinks it will be messy, he agrees to help. After putting on a lab coat, he gets some newspaper and covers the floor with it. He lines up the food in front of the cages and carefully pours the food. He closes the food container tightly and returns it to the shelf. David follows the teacher's directions precisely in feeding each hamster.

The prospective teachers significantly preferred children like David to children like Steve.

An important question is whether data on female teachers' behavior and values are telling us about female teachers or about teachers in general. It could be that male teachers would subscribe to the same values and would behave similarly in the classroom. Schools have a life of their own apart from the gender of those who do the teaching. For one thing, the average class size is such that disruptive behaviors cannot be easily tolerated (Jackson, 1968). For example, academic behaviors such as reading require that the students be capable of extended periods of attention and reflection. Male and female teachers might exhibit a similar style given the task of teaching reading to a group of 25 children.

The best way, of course, to learn whether male teachers would make a difference is to compare the results they achieve with those achieved by female teachers. In the late 1960's and early 1970's a number of studies were conducted which made this comparison. The details of these studies have been presented recently in reviews by Brophy and Good (1974), Lahaderne (1976), and Vrough (1976). The typical comparative study has been conducted at the fifth-grade level since this is the earliest grade at which a sufficient number of male teachers appear, and the typical finding in these studies has been that the gains made by boys and girls are unaffected by the sex of their teacher. For example, Asher and Gottman (1973) did two studies, one comparing 10 male with 10 female teachers and the other comparing 13 male with 13 female teachers. In both studies the gains made by boys and girls were the same regardless of whether children had a male or female teacher.

One very interesting secondary finding that has emerged from this research is that male teachers seem to have more able students assigned to their classrooms. Both Clapp (1967) and Asher and Gottman (1973) found that the pretest scores of children in male teachers' classrooms were higher than the scores of children in female teachers' classrooms. It is a surprising finding since male teachers might be expected to get the more disruptive, low-achieving students. Could it be that male teachers are being subtly rewarded for teaching elementary school or for taking the more difficult students by being assigned the more able students? Further research here is clearly needed.

The studies of achievement outcomes tend to suggest that male and female teachers produce similar results at least in the middle elementary school years. It could be inferred that male and female teachers have similar classroom styles. About eight studies have been done comparing the classroom interaction patterns of male and female teachers. Nearly all studies have been conducted in the middle or late elementary school grades and two findings have typically been obtained. First, it appears that male and female teachers behave similarly toward boys and girls. Second, it seems that both male and female teachers attend more to boys in the classroom.

A study of Sikes, Brophy, and Good (1973) illustrates both of these findings. They used a rather sophisticated classroom observation scheme and found that of 62 different measures only one measure yielded evidence in support of the sex-of-teacher hypothesis. They did find, however, that in both male and female teachers' classrooms boys initiated more questions and comments and received more positive interactions from the teacher. Interestingly, the boys also received more behavioral warnings and criticism and more negative "private" conversations initiated by the teacher.

The research on teacher interaction with boys and girls suggests that teachers believe that boys must be "kept in line" with the use of both frequent praise and frequent criticism. Since boys are more likely to pose classroom management problems this response is understandable. An important question is whether the amount of teacher praise or criticism directed at boys exceeds that which would be predicted based on boys' behavior. A recent study of Etaugh and Harlow (1975) addressed this issue. They found that both male and female teachers scolded boys more than would be predicted based on the researchers' observations of the boys' behavior. Also, female teachers were found to praise boys more than would be predicted from the observation data on boys' behavior. This study was done with only two male and two female teachers, thus the results should be viewed with caution. They are suggestive, however, that the "keep boys in line" strategy is operating in the classroom and results in disproportionate attention to boys.

One other study is of interest in the context of whether male and female teachers value the same type of student behavior. Recall that Feshbach (1969) found that female prospective teachers preferred students who were described as conforming and orderly to students who were described as nonconforming and untidy. Good and Grouws (1972) replicated this study with male as well as female trainees. The females were planning to be elementary school teachers while the males were planning to be secondary school teachers. Thus, the data should be viewed as suggestive rather than conclusive. Good and Grouws found that males and females valued the same type of student behavior.

To summarize, it appears that male and female teachers are associated with similar achievement outcomes, that their behavior toward boys and girls is quite similar, and that they share common values about appropriate classroom behavior. Despite the plausibility of the hypothesis that boys might benefit from having male teachers, it appears that the hypothesis is not supported by the data. Confronted with these data, there are two ways to proceed. One approach is to test the sex-of-teacher hypothesis with younger children. Nearly all of the research has been done with middle elementary or secondary age children. It could be argued that this is too late for male teachers to have much impact on the development of boys' reading skills. By the fifth grade, for example, most children have learned to read and there may be little likelihood that teacher variables such as gender will contribute to achievement test scores.

Research with male kindergarten, first, or second grade teachers is needed but there is good reason to believe that it would confirm the data already available. Given that the distribution of male and female teachers' behavior towards boys and girls is quite similar in the middle elementary and secondary grades it is likely that it would be similar in earlier grades. It is unlikely, therefore, that males and females will produce different learning outcomes even with younger children. We should have more male elementary school teachers just as we should have more female doctors. However, there seems to be little reason to believe that improved reading will directly result from the recruitment of more male teachers.

Surveying the research on the sex-of-teacher hypothesis, Brophy and Good (1973) recently exclaimed, "Of course the schools are feminine but let's stop blaming women for it." By this they meant that the schools value behaviors traditionally associated with the female role (e.g., conformity) but this value has more to do with the nature of schools than the fact that teachers are usually female. In fact, they point out that "this passive school role that we now often refer to as 'feminine' was established when the schools were taught exclusively by males!" (Brophy & Good, 1973, p. 74).

Instead of awaiting research on the effects of male teachers at younger grade levels it would seem best to study manipulatable aspects of the classroom environment that might affect boys' reading performance. One factor that might be important is the extent to which the environment engages boys in the reading task. The next section reviews what is known about the effects of children's interest in the reading task and in the reading material on their reading performance. The question is whether boys would read as well as girls if they were given material that is engaging.

The "Interestingness" Hypothesis

Even before serious reading instruction is introduced, teachers find that boys have more difficulty maintaining attention in school. For example, in a study done in Illinois, kindergarten, first, and second grade teachers filled out a behavior checklist for each of their children (Werry & Quay, 1971). At each grade level boys were perceived as more distractable, hyperactive, etc. For example, 55% of five-year-old boys and 30% of five-year-old girls were perceived as having a "short attention span." At eight years old the respective figures were 41% and 24%. In response to the item "hyperactivity; always on the go" 38% of five-year-old boys and 19% of five-year-old girls were indicated.

At eight years old the figures were 32% and 15%, respectively. Boys also show up as more inattentive when direct classroom observations are made by outside observers. Samuels and Turnure (1974) observed four first grade classrooms during reading instruction. Each child was observed for hundreds of four-second intervals and in each interval a decision was made whether the child was attending or not. Attention was defined as such behaviors as orienting eyes to teacher or text, working on reading follow-up exercises, and observing the chalkboard or an overhead projection. Boys were found to be attending significantly less often than girls using this procedure (76% versus 84%). Another interesting finding was that although boys did not differ from girls on reading readiness scores (presumably taken before first grade) they did differ on a reading achievement measure taken during the first grade year. Finally, there was a clear relationship between the children's rate of attention and their reading performance. Children were given a 45-word sight reading test and those children with high rates of attention during reading instruction proved to know far more of the words than children with low rates of attention (34 versus 16).

It could be inferred, then, that teaching procedures which maintain attention will have beneficial effects, particularly for boys. In this context, it may be worthwhile to take a second look at the McNeil (1964) study of programmed instruction. McNeil found that boys did as well as girls under programmed instruction in kindergarten but did worse than girls in a traditional first grade classroom taught by a female teacher. It may be that the programmed instruction was successful in maintaining students' attention. Each student sat in his or her own cubicle and received audio input via headphones. The child responded by pressing buttons and received individual feedback via green or red lights. This situation may be one that keeps children "on task." Interestingly, Atkinson (1968) has reported that boys and girls proceed at equal rates through a curriculum based on computer-assisted instruction.

There are, of course, other methods for maintaining attention besides programmed instruction or computer-assisted instruction. One way is to make use of small group instruction with high-paced instruction and lots of attention-getting techniques. The Distar program (Engelmann and Associates, 1969) is an interesting one in this regard. Preliminary indications are that Distar produces beneficial results with low-income children (Becker & Engelmann, 1976). It would be of interest to evaluate the effectiveness of the program separately for boys and girls. Perhaps boys benefit even more than girls from this program, given its attention-getting appeal.

Another potentially powerful way to maintain student attention is to provide students with material that is interesting to read. Most teachers have observed that students will read material "above their level" if the material relates to the student's interests. Low-achieving high school students, for example, often will work hard when given a driver's rules-of-the-road manual to read. Unfortunately, much of the material that students read in school may be quite unrelated to their interests. Zimet (1972) and her colleagues have done extensive analysis of the content of children's reading primers and have concluded that much of it would have little appeal to children of either sex.

Because children's interests in reading material may affect their reading comprehension and their reading pleasure, considerable research has been done on assessing children's interests. These surveys yield data that the typical third-grade boy is interested in certain topics while the typical third-grade girl is interested in other topics. Surveys such as this have limited usefulness to teachers. A survey taken in 1970 might not apply in 1980. More important is the fact that norms of children's interests hide the tremendous variability in children's interests. A teacher concerned with a specific student really has no basis for assuming that this child will fit the norm. If interest surveys have any role to play it is probably to provide textbook publishers with some broad guidelines. In the end the teacher and student must select something from the text or paperback book series that will be appropriate for the particular student.

A personal experience will hopefully serve to provide a picture of the extent to which children's reading interests are highly individualized. A couple of years ago, Louise Singleton, a doctoral student at the University of Illinois, Sally Shores, a fifth-grade teacher in Champaign, Illinois, and I developed a high-interest reading program which Sally Shores used in her classroom. Each student regularly selected books from the class library, school library, or public library. Children were divided into four six-person groups. Each group contained boys and girls and good and poor readers. Children read silently in these groups with a teacher or a teacher aide who also read a book. The children also met once a week in these groups for "book talks." These conversations served a number of purposes. First, they reinforced children for reading by having them share their ideas and enthusiasm. Second, they were intended to broaden children's interests and knowledge by exposing them to new topics. Finally, they provided an opportunity to acquire and practice group discussion skills.

Despite the opportunities this program provided children to "advertise" the books they were reading, very few children read the same books. An analysis was made of how many different books were read during the school year and how many children read each book. Of 392 different books read by the class, 271 were read by only one child. Only 13 books were read by more than six children. These data provide powerful testimony to the individuality of children's reading interests.

A number of different methods have been used by teachers and researchers to learn about individual student's interests. One way is to observe the student's behavior in different situations. Another is to talk to the student or have the student respond to a structured interest inventory. Other ways include listening to students' conversations with one another or talking with a student's family or friends.

In our research (Asher & Markell, 1974), we use a picture rating technique to learn about each child's interests. Children are shown a series of twenty-five color photographs with each photograph corresponding to a single topic (e.g., basketball, forests, painting, cats, etc.). The children are shown each slide for about 10 seconds and each child is asked to rate each slide on a 1-7 scale in terms of how interesting the picture is to them. With very young children a 1-3 scale could be used.

The slide rating method has a number of advantages. It is conducive to both group and individual administration, it can be used with children who do not know how to read or write, and it gives children who might not be able to spontaneously communicate their interests some specific objects or activities to respond to. The picture rating assessment can, of course, be followed up with discussion. It is often quite informative to learn why certain topics were highly rated by a child and others were not.

One thing about many children's interests, particularly young children's interests, is that they are fairly changeable. We have found that the test-retest correlation of children's interest ratings is high for some children and low for others. The average correlation over a four-month period (May to September) was .47 among a group of 44 fifth graders we tested. The fact that children's interests change considerably suggests that the process of assessing a student's interests should be a continual one. It would be a mistake to assess students' interests in the fall and build a year-long reading program around that assessment.

Despite the common belief that children read better on high-interest material, there have been surprisingly few empirical tests. The studies that have been done sometimes employ very few passages. Also, there has been a tendency to assume that certain passages are of interest to one sex and other passages are of interest to the other sex. This is a hazardous assumption since, for example, not all boys like airplane stories and not all girls like stories about babies. Finally, many of the studies have examined the relationship of interest in a topic to comprehension of a topic by having children read a passage and then indicate how much they found the passage interesting. This approach could produce spuriously positive findings since children might rate a passage as more interesting because they were able to understand it. It may be for these or other reasons that the few available studies yielded inconsistent results (e.g., Bernstein, 1955; Dorsel, 1975; Klein, 1959; Shnayer, 1967).

Our research on the effects of interest on reading comprehension (Asher, 1976; Asher, Hymel, & Wigfield, 1976; Asher & Markell, 1974) has used the slide rating technique to individually assess each child's interests. About one week after the interest assessment each child is given six Brittanica Junior Encyclopaedia (1970) passages to read. Three passages correspond in topic to the child's three highest-rated picture topics and three correspond to the child's three lowest-rated topics. Thus, each child receives an individualized set of high- and low-interest passages. For each passage, a comprehension measure is obtained.

In two of the studies done to date (Asher, 1976; Asher, Hymel, & Wigfield, 1976) the samples consisted of boys and girls who were performing at similar levels on the school-administered reading achievement test. In both of these studies boys and girls were found to comprehend more of the high- than low-interest material. A study more relevant to the present discussion was an earlier experiment (Asher & Markell, 1974) conducted with fifth-grade boys and girls who did differ on the school-administered standardized reading test. The question here was how well boys would do compared to girls on the low-interest versus high-interest material. The results were quite interesting. Boys performed as well as girls on the high-interest material, but performed significantly worse than the girls on the low-interest material. It seems, then, that having children read material which is relevant to individual student's interests can eliminate sex differences in reading achievement.

Two important questions remain to be answered. One is why children do better on high- than low-interest material. The possibility suggested earlier is that interesting material maintains the reader's attention. This is a motivational interpretation of the interest effect. Another possibility is that children do better on the high-interest material because they are more knowledgable of the content in areas in which they are interested. For example, a child interested in basketball would be likely to know much of the vocabulary relevant to the topic and would also have certain concepts or schema (e.g., knowledge of the game rules, history of the game, etc.) that would facilitate understanding of the passage. Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, and Goetz (1976) have recently demonstrated that having relevant schema can aid comprehension of a passage.

The knowledge interpretation is an interesting one because it suggests that children's comprehension could be improved by teaching them more about certain topics. Studies of children's interests typically indicate that boys have more narrowly defined interests than girls (Markell & Asher, 1974; Norvell, 1958; Terman & Lima, 1925). For example, girls are often interested in traditionally "masculine" topics while boys are uninterested in traditionally "feminine" topics. This might mean that boys become knowledgable about a narrower range of material. Ironically, the best strategy for improving children's reading comprehension may prove to be a strategy unrelated to teaching reading per se: namely providing children with experiences that increase their knowledge of the world and the interesting things in it.

Another question that remains is whether high-interest reading programs have long-term beneficial effects. A number of reports have been made of high-interest reading programs (Daniels, 1971; Fader & McNeil, 1968; Gormli & Nittoli, 1971; Stanchfield, 1973). Each provides guidelines for setting up a high-interest reading program and two (Daniels, 1971; Fader & McNeil, 1968) even provide lists of paperback books that were used.

Unfortunately, for our purposes here, the evaluations of the programs have not yet provided clear evidence on whether sex differences in achievement are reduced or eliminated. In two cases (Fader & McNeil, 1968; Gormli & Nittoli, 1971) the programs were designed for delinquent boys and no girls participated. In two other cases, (Daniels, 1971; Stanchfield, 1973) the use of high-interest material was one of a number of potentially important program elements. Finally, the evaluations of these programs have not involved the random assignment of children to high-interest versus regular programs making it hard to assess the meaning of gains made by children in high-interest programs.

Still, the evaluations made to date have yielded promising results. For example, in Gormli and Nittoli's (1971) summer high-interest reading program, boys gained more than one grade-equivalent score on three of four reading achievement subtests. Data such as these will hopefully stimulate more attempts at implementing and evaluating high-interest programs. It appears that focusing on the content of what students read will have more impact on boys' reading performance than attending to whether their teachers are male or female.

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CHAPTER 3

P.A. 79-597 SAYS STUDENTS AND STAFF HAVE A RIGHT TO NON-SEXIST EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS SCHOOLS

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There is evidence of things stirring in Illinois public schools. Change in customary ways of doing things, of a somewhat revolutionary proportion, is currently enveloping Illinois education at every level. At its core is the issue of equality of the sexes, and more particularly, federal legislation (Title IX), the Office for Civil Rights review of the State's high schools' 1977-78 proposed sports seasons schedule for sex equity compliance, and the implementation of P.A. 79-597, which brings the State into the monitoring and enforcement arena as a partner with the federal enforcement agencies in certain sex equity educational issues and concerns.

With the enactment of P.A. 79-597 in August, 1975, Illinois joined a small but growing number of states (California, Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, New Jersey, and Minnesota) which have emerged as leaders in the fight against sex discrimination in education. Implementing guidelines as provided in P.A. 79-597 have been promulgated by the Illinois State Board of Education through the Illinois Office of Education to local educational agencies, regional service agencies, and educational organizations as well as the membership of the Illinois Commission on the Status of Women.

Specifically, P.A. 79-597 amends Section 24-4, 27-1, and 34-18 of The School Code of Illinois. Section 24-4 now provides, in part, that

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the sex of any applicant seeking employment either as a superintendent, principal, teacher, or otherwise in the public elementary or high schools, shall not be considered a qualification or disqualification for any such employment. Nor shall sex be considered in assigning any person to an office or position or to any school in the school system.

Section 27-1 as amended now states that "no student shall be refused admission into or be excluded from any course of instruction offered in the common schools by reason of that person's sex, or be denied equal access to physical education and interscholastic athletic programs or comparable programs supported from school district funds. Equal access to programs supported from school district funds and comparable programs will be defined in guidelines promulgated by the State Board of Education in consultation with the Illinois High School Association."

Section 34-18 as amended makes the same requirement as provided in Section 27-1 above applicable to the City of Chicago School District.

The new statutory amendments can best be categorized as enabling legislation moving toward more complete fulfillment of the Illinois 1970 Constitutional Bill of Rights which explicitly prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. By providing numerous in-service training sessions and technical assistance throughout 1975-76 and 1976-77, the Illinois Office of Education anticipates that the State's public school systems have or will immediately begin to examine their policies and practices and will move with "all deliberate speed" toward more equal employment practices, non-sex biased admissions to all course offerings (including treatment of students following admission) and "equal access" and "comparable" athletic programs for all students irrespective of gender.

The leadership efforts for Illinois' amendatory legislation to Sections 24-4, 27-1, and 34-18 of The School Code of Illinois cleared the Illinois General Assembly prior to the promulgation of the final Rules and Regulations which implemented Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Higher Education Act) effective July 21, 1975. Thus, State law and federal law emerged almost simultaneously in the summer of 1975.

Illinois now has safeguards in a state education statute to begin the long road toward elimination of discriminatory abuses in the following three areas:

1. Employment (recruitment, hiring, placement, and promotion of educational personnel) in the State's public elementary and secondary schools.

All persons seeking employment, placement, and promotion in the State's public school systems are now guaranteed an evaluation based solely on their qualifications without reference to sex.

Local district decision makers are now required to make all employment decisions in a nondiscriminatory manner and shall not limit, segregate, or classify applicants or employees in any way which could adversely affect initial employment or promotional opportunities for current employees because of that person's sex.

While equality of opportunity for women in all levels of educational employment is an admirable goal in itself, the advantages to the educational system and to society in general that can be expected when women achieve positions of educational leadership in significant numbers are too persuasive to be delayed or ignored. Statistics show that Illinois women educators do not now enjoy an equal footing to that enjoyed by

TABLE I

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF CERTIFICATED FULL-TIME ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL, BY POSITION AND SEX, EXCLUDING THE CITY OF CHICAGO, 1968-77*

Position	1968 - 1969				1976 - 1977			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Head Administrators								
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Regional Superintendents	99	(92)	9	(8)	76	(97)	2	(3)
District Superintendents	1096	(95)	58	(5)	945	(98)	18	(2)
Senior High Principals	425	(98)	7	(2)	576	(99)	5	(1)
Junior High Principals	340	(94)	22	(6)	441	(97)	13	(3)
Elementary Principals	1506	(79)	411	(21)	1787	(86)	279	(14)
Central Staff and Assistant Administrators								
Assistant Reg. Supts.	80	(64)	45	(36)	86	(91)	9	(9)
Admin. Assts.	257	(87)	40	(13)	246	(88)	35	(12)
Asst. Supts.	267	(94)	18	(6)	327	(96)	15	(4)
Asst. Senior High Prin.	249	(95)	13	(5)	379	(95)	22	(5)
Asst. Junior High Prin.	130	(87)	19	(13)	204	(92)	18	(8)
Asst. Elem. Prin.	68	(68)	32	(32)	73	(72)	28	(27)
Business Managers**	101	(95)	5	(5)	128	(93)	9	(7)
TOTAL	4618	(87)	679	(13)	5268	(92)	453	(8)

*Source: Illinois Office of Education, Teacher Service Records, Research and Statistics Section, Department of Research and Planning.

**This number may be deflated since certification of Business Managers became operative 1975-76, and only those certificated are counted on the TSR.

Illinois male educators in educational leadership positions. (See Table I.)

The Illinois scene is similar to the national scene--women are over-represented in the lower levels and lower paying positions and are under-represented in the higher levels where salaries are much more lucrative. In elementary and secondary education (1976-77) women constituted approximately 63 percent of the teaching force in Illinois public schools but held only eight percent of the top decison-making positions. A large percentage of the small number of Illinois women principals (297) and superintendents (20) is clustered in the small school attendance centers or school districts. Only recently have several women leaders achieved the superintendencies of rather large school districts (Addison, Evanston, and Sauk Village) in Illinois.

The foregoing suggests that criteria other than task competence and qualifications are employed in the selection of Illinois' educational decision makers. P.A. 79-597 will require school boards to scrutinize particularly carefully employment categories which are dominated by members of one sex and determine the extent to which formal and informal policies and practices have influenced disproportionate representation. To clear out some old myths such as, "it takes a man to be a school superintendent," women educators are beginning to wage what may emerge as a major battle on the "back-of-the-bus" argument.

School personnel will find the implementing guidelines for P.A. 79-597 providing constructive assistance in the area of employment.

2. Student admission policies and practices regarding courses of instruction (academic and vocational) offered by the State's public elementary and secondary schools.

Equally important is the right of all students (female or male) to pursue course work of their own choosing without facing automatic entrance barriers ranging from outright exclusion to being counseled into traditionally female or male dominated career roles on the basis of sex.

A job has no sex. While this fact seems quite obvious, a circular pattern of sex-based discrimination in occupational-related courses and employment has resulted in the confinement of disproportionate numbers of women to low-paying, low-security jobs. Job training opportunities, particularly at the high school level, are crucial for a large percent of the State's population since they are the only training opportunities available to many individuals before they enter the labor force. The evidence of sex discrimination in vocational education in Illinois schools is overwhelming. (See Table 2.)

The results of this discrimination are the current under-employment of women and the increasing gap in the relative earning abilities of the two sexes. P.A. 79-597 is a potential effective weapon for altering this pattern of discrimination. No longer can students be prepared for "feminine" or "masculine" occupations.

Not only in Illinois, but nationally, there is a void of women teachers employed in secondary male-intensive vocational education programs. According to researchers, Roslyn Kane, Laura Chen Fernandez, and Jill Godoff, less than one percent (0.9) women teachers were employed in trade and industrial programs, less than one percent (0.8) women teachers were employed in agricultural programs, and only 2.5 percent women teachers were employed in industrial arts programs in 1976 in the five states sampled in their study. (See Table 3.)

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF 1972/1976 MALE/FEMALE ENROLLMENTS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
(Secondary, Post-Secondary and Adult - Unduplicated)*

	Total Female Enrollments				
Field of Study	1972	% Female 1972 **	1976	% Female 1976 **	**** % Female Inc. (+) Dec. (-)
Agriculture	1,681	5.5	5,563	16.3	+ 10.8
Distributive	9,699	40.7	19,532	45.6	+ 5.1
Health	14,667	82.9	23,797	84.4	+ 1.5
Homemaking/Consumer	24,515	85.8	27,143	82.3	- 3.5
Gainful Home Economics	45,778	93.1	61,221	87.0	- 6.1
Office	158,343	68.8	166,351	68.8	No Change
Technical****	1,675	12.6	1,283	6.7	- 5.9
Trade/Industry	19,401	9.6	19,908	8.7	0.9
TOTAL	275,759	46.3	324,798	45.7	- 0.6

	Total Male Enrollments				Total Enrollments	
Field of Study	1972	% Male 1972 ***	1976	% Male 1976 ***	1972	1976
Agriculture	28,654	94.5	28,593	83.7	30,335	34,156
Distributive	14,109	59.3	23,338	54.4	23,808	42,870
Health	3,015	17.1	4,406	15.6	17,682	28,203
Homemaking/Consumer	4,057	14.2	5,846	17.7	28,572	32,989
Gainful Home Economics	3,391	6.9	9,184	13.0	49,169	70,405
Office	71,960	31.2	75,412	31.2	230,303	241,763
Technical****	11,573	87.4	17,824	93.3	13,248	19,107
Trade/Industry	183,316	90.4	209,129	91.3	202,762	229,037
TOTAL	320,120	53.7	373,732	54.3	595,879	720,521

** - % of total enrollments that were female students.
*** - % of total enrollments that were male students.
**** - % of increase or decrease of female students.
***** - These courses are offered only at the post-secondary levels.

Students enrolled in Special Programs are not included in these figures.
1976 Special Programs = 21,991 total (4,533 female; 17,458 male)

*Source: State Board of Education, Illinois Office of Education, Department of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education, 1972/1976 Annual Reports to the United States Office of Education.

TABLE 3

WOMEN TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN SECONDARY MALE-INTENSIVE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN FIVE STATES--1976*

States	Male-Intensive Programs								
	Trade and Industrial			Agricultural			Industrial Arts		
	Male	Female	Percent Female	Male	Female	Percent Female	Male	Female	Percent Female
MD	392	14	3.5	49	3	5.8	491	81	14.2
NY	2353	28	1.2	325	8	8.4	9713	87	0.9
ND	75	0	0.0	88	0	0.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
SC	1059	3	0.3	450	2	0.4	154	0	0.0
TX	1623	7	0.4	823	1	0.1	1767	147	7.7
Total of 5 States	5502	52	0.9	1735	14	0.8	12,125	315	2.5

*Source: *Education Daily*, Volume 10, Number 142 (July 25, 1977).

Thus, if by sheer persistence and ability, a female student manages to get a spot in a vocational education program thought to be the exclusive turf of male students, the female student faces almost unsurmountable difficulties without a successful female teacher role model to emulate. Additionally, there is need for both men and women vocational teachers to acquire certain job skills to become successful instructors in non-traditional vocational programs.

The Illinois Office of Education is urging more exposure to occupational opportunities for all students. P.A. 79-597 is assisting the state agency in its efforts to fulfill the State Board of Education's goal for quality integrated educational programs for all students.

Illinois schools are now prohibited from training students to become a sex role stereotype. Occupationally oriented, mathematical and scientific, as well as physical education courses must now abide by the same nondiscriminatory policies and practices as the academic courses of English and social studies.

Hopefully, within the near future, expressions, such as "we would love to admit women to the union, but we can't find any qualified or trained in our specialities," will not be common utterances because Illinois schools will be graduating many qualified and trained females as well as males in all career fields as the school decision makers take active steps to enroll potential students in courses where they have been previously excluded, discouraged, or limited. The Implementing Guidelines for P.A. 79-597 and other Illinois Office of Education publications will assist in providing positive directions for change.

3. Physical education, intramural and interscholastic athletic programs or comparable programs supported from school district funds.

Illinois' long and meritorious history for providing great numbers of fine male athletes, primarily trained and instructed in the public school physical education, intramural and athletic programs throughout the State, is now being extended by offering the same or comparable programs to potential female athletes through "equal access" to physical education, intramural and athletic programs staffed and supported in whole or part with district resources.

Historically, public schools physical education, intramural and athletic opportunities for women have been "separate and unequal." That is, women have competed only with women and men have competed only with men. Likewise, competitive opportunities afforded female students have been far less than those afforded male students. P.A. 79-597 does not prohibit separate competition by women and men; however, it does provide that such physical education, intramural and interscholastic competition supported from school district funds provide "equal access" for all students irrespective of sex. Fortunately, to assist in this most closely scrutinized and controversial issue of "equal access" and "comparable" programs, the Act provided for Guidelines promulgated by the State Board of Education in consultation with the Illinois High School Association. In developing the guidelines, not only has the State Agency consulted the Illinois High School Association but all other major state educational organizations and an external advisory committee.

In recent years, because Illinois female students have been demanding competitive experiences beyond the traditional program offerings for females of volleyball, tennis, basketball, badminton, and swimming, the gross inequities in physical education programs and competitive opportunities have been sharply identified, and in some cases, decided through court actions.

"We are living in a new era now when governmental programs must be devised in such a way to afford equal treatment to all citizens or other persons who come within the ambit of these programs.... If the boys can't live with it, they are going to have to understand that they are going to have to get used to it, and it is not going to be as hard as they might think." (Muscare v. O'Malley, 1976).

The current revision (amendment) to the Illinois High School Association By-Laws for the 1977-78 sports seasons schedule which moves toward equalizing the length of seasons and the number of season sports afforded male and female students is "evidence of things stirring" as Illinois schools lead in the fight against sex discrimination in physical activity programs and sports.

Thus, the schools as a major social institution are playing a decisive role in a social revolution that is transforming the traditional roles of Illinois men and women.

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CHAPTER 4

TITLE IX: LETTER AND SPIRIT

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A young man who excels as a chef at home would like to take home economics but is required to take industrial arts. He is told that home economics is for girls.

During the course of the school day, third grade children are separated by sex for drink lines, recess, lunch, classroom contests, and bus lines. Girls sharpen pencils, grade papers, carry in trays of milk, and feed the gerbils. Boys wash the desk tops, pick scraps of paper off the floor, move tables and chairs, and return a movie projector to the media center. A small boy becomes tearful and is told to "act like a man."

A young woman registers extremely high scores in health and science areas on an interest/aptitude test and is encouraged by her counselor to consider nursing as a profession.

Each of these situations is an example of the kinds of stereotyping occurring in schools over the past several decades that have caused caring men and women to develop deep concerns for sex equity. Out of this concern has come Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

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1 Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

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which is federal legislation barring sex discrimination in education. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 states that:

> "No person in the United States shall on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." (3)

It's as simple as that. Equal opportunity shall not be denied on account of sex.

No educator of conscience would debate the merits of the basic principle involved: that it is the right of all children in this country to an education,the parameters of which are not prescribed by sex, race, ethnic background, national origin, handicap, age, hair color, height, or any other identifying characteristic. Some confusion does arise, however, over the implementation of Title IX. Let's examine some of the fundamental provisions set forth in the official implementing Rules and Regulations.

The Letter

First, every education agency in the nation receiving federal funds of any kind is covered by Title IX. This includes nationally some 2700 post-secondary schools, 16,000 elementary-secondary schools, and every state education agency. Illinois public elementary, secondary, and unit districts total over 1,000; public colleges and universities in the state number 65. Many of the 1350 private schools in Illinois, elementary through post-secondary, receive some kind of federal aid and are thus included in Title IX coverage. Morever, Title IX coverage extends beyond programs and activities for students to employment practices and procedures affecting all employees of educational agencies.

All affected institutions were expected to be in full compliance with Title IX by July 21, 1976. A two-year transitional period was permitted in the area of secondary physical education and athletics for those institutions experiencing unique difficulties; such institutions were required to notify the Office for Civil Rights, which is the enforcement agency for Title IX, of their need for an extended period of adjustment and to delineate for that agency their plan for compliancy efforts during that extension.

Three basic steps were to have been taken by October 19, 1975. These included:

1. Appointment of a Title IX Coordinator and the dissemination of that person's name, address, and telephone number to all students and employees;
2. adoption and publication of a local grievance procedure;
3. publication of the institution's policy of nondiscrimination

A fourth and major step to be completed by July 21, 1976, was the conduct of an institutional self-evaluation, records of which were to be kept on file for three years. In the event this self-study uncovered situations that appeared to have a discriminatory effect not immediately modifiable, the report was to include a plan for remediation.

Application of the law in the school setting has the expected effects. That is to say, students may not be scheduled into (or out of) classes on the basis of sex. Schools may not set differential graduation requirements based on sex. Classes, including physical education, must be coeducational. Schools may not sponsor any chorus whose membership is open to one sex only. Benefits, privileges, rights, and responsibilities may not be assigned on the basis of sex.

There are certain circumstances that allow for the separation of the sexes, and these include, of course, separate restroom and shower facilities. Students may be separated by sex for competitive skill practice of a "contact" sport, contact sports having been defined by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as including football, basketball, wrestling, boxing, rugby, and ice hockey (7:86-41).

Some areas of the educational system are not so easily equalized and merit particular attention. For example, the counseling department is under careful scrutiny. According to the implementing regulations, counselors may not administer any appraisal instrument nor use any counseling materials that either require or permit differential treatment on the basis of sex, unless that differential treatment is shown to be necessary to eliminate sex bias (7:86-36). Because there does not exist conclusive research that defines for counselors what testing materials are free of sex bias, counselors have the responsibility to personally examine the various tools employed in the counseling process.

Vocational education programs, too, demand special attention. In addition to the equal access provisions of Title IX, a number of very positive, explicit actions are required of schools by the Vocational Education Amendments of 1976 (4).

According to a study by JoAnn M. Steiger, enrollments in vocational education programs follow traditional sex role lines (5:16-22). The result is that most girls in vocational education programs are preparing for traditionally female jobs with limited opportunity for advancement and relatively low pay. This same stereotyping prevents many boys from entering nontraditional fields that could fit their interests and ambitions very well. Bem and Bem have stated an ideal for career choice making: "The elimination of sex-role stereotyping does not imply that there will necessarily be equality of outcome, an equal number of men and women in each and every role, but rather that there will be the widest possible variation in outcome consistent with the range of individual differences among people, regardless of sex" (8:12).

In order to effect compliance in the area of athletics, it is important for schools to conduct an interest survey so that they can effectively judge whether the needs and interests of students are being met. Should a school district wish to provide separate interscholastic teams for boys and for girls, it may do so, if those teams are provided on a comparable basis. It is useful to note that the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) is not defining comparable as meaning identical or even equal. According to the OCR implementing manual (9:37-38), facets of a district's athletic program to be considered in assessing degree of comparability include but are not limited to:

a. effective accommodation of the interests and capabilities of members of both sexes in sports and levels of competition offered;
b. equipment and supplies provided;
c. travel and per diem allowance provisions;
d. opportunities to receive coaching and academic tutoring;
e. access to locker rooms, practice and competitive facilities;
f. access to medical and training facilities and services;
g. access to housing and dining facilities and services;
h. efforts to provide publicity.

Finally, it is important to note that persons who wish to have a question of sex discrimination addressed and who desire to either bypass or go beyond their local grievance procedure may file complaints directly with the Office for Civil Rights. In the event the OCR would rule in favor of the complainant, educational agencies should be aware that the penalty for noncompliance with Title IX is the withholding of federal funds.

Having reviewed the basic provisions of this legislation, let's consider the possibility of moving beyond simple compliance with the letter of the law into the complex area of implementing Title IX in spirit. Exactly how might that be done?

The Spirit

Instructional Materials:

One of the most obvious and most potentially impactful components of the educational system is textbooks and instructional materials. How can we hope to free children of stifling stereotypes while the materials we use in classrooms perpetuate those same stereotypes? Students must be free to explore all possibilities, consider all options, discover all of their own potential. Such an ideal is unreachable while children continue to receive messages, however subtle or unintended, that teach limitations rather than growth. Caroline Bird asserts that "It is wrong, as well as wasteful and dangerous, to discourage talent" (2:237).

At least two viable options present themselves as we grapple with the problem of sexist classroom materials: (1) we may set a time frame within which we expect to eliminate sexist materials from classrooms, and (2) we may very deliberately identify and, through carefully applied teaching methods, counteract the sex typing that occurs in materials. Classroom techniques to counteract sexism in materials may be as simple as recognizing and acknowledging the existance of bias and giving students an opportunity to share with others their reactions to the bias. Students might be encouraged to rewrite portions of materials in such a way as to eliminate the bias. Other techniques might include the use of supplementary materials, which could even be researched and presented by students themselves.

Classroom Practices:

A natural extension of our concern for classroom materials, it seems, is a careful consideration of classroom practices and behaviors. Classroom teachers may want to address several questions that relate to their own behavior. For example:

- Are certain classroom tasks assigned on the basis of sex?
- Does competition occur in the classroom based upon a division of girls against boys?
- Do children line up by sex?
- Are projects assigned to pairs of boys or pairs of girls rather than random pairs of children?
- Do classroom seating arrangements divide students on the basis of sex?
- Does discipline vary with the sex of the offender?
- Are girls expected to get better grades than boys?
- Are girls expected to be more courteous, neat, orderly, or quiet than boys?

A "yes" answer to any of the above questions reveals that, at the very least, sex bias is present in the classroom. In all likelihood, that bias is accompanied by actual discrimination, however inadvertently practiced.

We all know that some of the most powerful messages we receive are very subtly transmitted. Classroom teachers who are in daily contact with students can be an extremely potent change agent in students' lives. Their interactions with students can be of such high quality as to foster healthy self-esteem as well as respect for others or, conversely, their behaviors can have a damaging effect on individual development. Biased or discriminatory teaching behaviors such as those addressed in the above questions can only serve to limit the scope of social and academic options students perceive as viable.

A wise teacher will strive not just to eliminate all hints of sex bias and discrimination in the classroom; s/he will work diligently to help students examine the "look and feel" of sex-role stereotyping. Completion phrases "If I were a boy..." and "If I were a girl..." are good examples of a wide variety of classroom activities that encourage students to examine restrictions they experience because of their sex and to explore possibilities from an unfamiliar perspective.

Counseling:

Counselors are in a unique position with potential high impact on students' lives. They are called upon to not simply monitor counseling activities for sex bias, but to take positive steps to counteract the negative effects of sex role stereotyping. In a handbook on sex equity developed by the American Personnel and Guidance Association, Joanna Spaulding is quoted, "Women enter with a handicap which a 'null' academic environment does nothing to decrease and may well reinforce. In other words, (educators) don't have to make it a specific point to discourage their female students - society will do that job for them. All they have to do is fail to encourage women students. _It can be done with no effort at all_" (1:11).

This responsibility to provide encouragement for students seems particularly important for counselors as they facilitate in the decision making that will affect students' entire adult lives.

Informal Interactions:

One of the most powerful areas of influence in schools is the informal social interaction that occurs between faculty and students. Here is where we must be extremely careful about allowing our old, outdated attitudes or unconscious prejudices to have a negative effect on others. It is possible to be quite destructive absolutely without intent, simply by being unaware of the hidden messages transmitted by our verbal and nonverbal behavior. This underlines the importance of periodically reassessing our values and attitudes, making certain that our behaviors do not reflect previously held attitudes that no longer fit with our newer awarenesses and perceptions.

Employment Practices:

When considering the implementation of Title IX in spirit, we must not overlook employment implications. Even though a district is technically in compliance with Title IX, administrators may be aware that is quite difficult for women to be either hired or promoted into managerial positions. Implementing the spirit of Title IX might involve establishing an extensive recruiting program to find qualified women from both within and without the agency who would be interested in applying for upper level positions. Such a district may even decide to develop and implement a formal Affirmative Action Plan in its efforts to overcome the effects of past employment inequities.

As concerned educators, we cannot ignore the extraordinary influence of schools on children's lives, on their perceptions of themselves and of others. Recognizing that influence, how can we not strive to implement the spirit as well as the letter of Title IX? Consider, if you will, the following theory of educator responsibility proposed by Frazier and Sadker:

> Educators have a choice - to wait for the pressure of social change to be exerted on them or to take the initiative. Rather than mirror social values, educators have the option and we believe, the responsibility to lead the way. And we anticipate that, as they become aware of the harmfulness of sexism, they will be not only willing but anxious to do so. After all, it is nothing less than justice, freedom, and equality of opportunity that are in question (6:178).

As responsible educators, we dare not permit the educational experiences of any student to be limited by his or her sex. We must neither impose nor perpetuate stereotyping that limits life options for any child. Rather, we must be about the business of opening doors, cherishing individuality, nurturing growth, encouraging exploration. And it is only through the prudent discarding of our own stereotypical behaviors and attitudes and our sex-typed expectations of students that we become free to educate from a philosophy that truly embraces not only the letter of antidiscrimination laws but the spirit of equality.

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CHAPTER 5

SEXISM IN ENGLISH: STRATEGIES FOR LIBERATING THE MOTHER TONGUE

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Lately it seems that wherever we look there are claims that the English language is sexist and counterclaims that it is not, demands that it be changed accordingly and replies that it should not be. The popular press has abounded with evidence of this current controversy. Articles, features, and editorials examining the question have appeared in such magazines as Cosmopolitan, Life, and Time and in newspapers like the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune.

For example, in one Chicago daily, Joan Beck recently argued that a male conspiracy has "managed to manipulate, maneuver, and manufacture words so it's mandatory to talk as if mankind were exclusively masculine and civilization entirely manmade," (3) while in another, Rachel King ridiculed the trend toward a "unisexual" language with a futuristic parable about posting letters through a "person-person," formerly a mailman. (20) We routinely encounter releases such as these about a New York film executive seeking unsuccessfully to change her last name from Cooperman to Cooperperson and a California legislator introducing a contested resolution to rename state assemblyment "assembly members." (5:23) We read that at one of its national conferences, the American Psychological Association elected as presiding officer its first "chairperson," an act subsequently cited as yet another example of "the way language rumbles in deference to women's liberation." (34:158)

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The general public may well conclude from such items that the question of sexism in English is regrettably susceptible both to overstatement and to trivialization. But because of their special obligation to serve as sensitive and informed models of language usage, educators cannot so easily dismiss this issue. They have more than a personal stake in coming to terms with its implications; they have a professional responsibility to do so.

Fortunately, concerned educators will find that recent public interest in the topic has been matched, if not exceeded, by scholarly attention. Barrie Thorne (Michigan State University) and Nancy Henley (University of Lowell, Massachusetts) note that 81 such items appeared between 1970 and 1975, compared to 34 in the preceeding decade and only 32 from 1900 to 1960. (35:5-6) Undoubtedly, this trend has been influenced by such factors as the revival of American feminism and the emergence of the discipline of sociolinguistics, committed to studying language in its cultural contexts. Whatever the causes, the good news is that there is a growing body of serious speculation and research on the relationship between language and sex. The rest of the news, predictably, is that it varies considerably in accessibility and approach, quality, and usefulness.

This brief review essay can be neither comprehensive nor definitive, of course, but it can suggest broad answers to several fundamental questions: (1) Along what general dimensions have scholars explored the possibility of sex bias in the English language, and what have been some of the major findings? (2) When evidence of sexism has been uncovered, what strategies have been proposed for dealing with it? How sound and feasible do these seem? (3) How can educators further enhance their knowledge in this area and apply such knowledge in their work?

Although language is often regarded merely as a neutral tool for self-expression, the pioneering research of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf has helped us to appreciate language's power to affect its users' perceptions of reality. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, as it is called, should not be reduced to a crude form of linguistic determinism in which you are what you speak. But from its perspective, language assumes a more active role in human affairs, capable both of reflecting and reinforcing cultural values. Thus, English is being examined to determine if, and how, it may serve as a repository and carrier of sexist habits of thought and expression, perhaps some of them susceptible to change.

The investigations to date have proceeded along many paths, but probably the most commonly cited as well as most widely debated area of inquiry has been into English grammatical structure. Sex differentiation in language is apparently universal, though it has only been studied in around 100 of the world's four to five thousand languages. (35:148; 19:13) English, like all other Indo-European languages except Armenian contains gender categories in its grammar. (27:44-45) Greatest attention here has centered on the generic masculine, labelled by Wendy Martyna of Stanford as the "he/man" phenomenon. (24)

According to the English pronoun system, when a referent's sex is unknown or when a group of referents contain members of both sexes, the correct singular pronoun is masculine (as in the sentence "Every delegate should take his seat"). Similarly, the noun "man" is used both to designate an adult member of the male sex ("Look at that man") and any member of the human race, male or female ("Man does not live by bread alone").

This use of sex-specific nouns and pronouns for the "double duty" of generic references has been criticized along several lines.

Wilma Scott Heide, a former president of the National Organization for Women, stated that the arbitrary nature of this practice becomes immediately apparent when generic feminine forms ("she" and "woman") are substituted. (16;38) Mary Ritchie Key of the University of California has documented the often awkward and illogical results of strictly applying the generic masculine. She cites as examples a report on uterine development in man and a bill forbidding one person from forcing another to have an abortion against his will. (19:89)

Potentially more serious, and also more difficult to test, is the argument that the self-concepts and social views of children are distorted by contact with the generic masculine. To date, there have been insufficient data on which to confirm, modify, or deny this hypothesis. But several studies have already reported finding that students from nursery school through college tend to misinterpret the generic masculine forms as having sex-specific meanings. In other words, when reading about the accomplishments of generic "man," they frequently translate these as accomplishments of males exclusively, not of people generally. (27:21,24;32) One has only to correlate this tendency with the fact that the general masculine rule often contributes to an artificially higher ratio of masculine nouns and pronouns in school materials to see why many publishers are issuing revised guidelines on usage. (36;30;1;13-15 and 37)

Publishers have had company in developing and advocating alternatives to the generic masculine (as well as other sex-related linguistic sorespots). Professional associations like the National Council of Teachers of English have issued similar recommendations. (28) Feminist writers and teachers have also circulated independent proposals for language reform. These range from relatively modest suggestions (such as substituting "she or he" for the generic "he") to more far-reaching revisions, usually involving creation of hybrids ("s/he" and "wo/man") or totally new forms (like "co, cos, co," "tey, ter, tem," or "ve, vis, ver"). (31;26;34:158)

There appears to be more consensus in the works sampled here that the generic masculine carries sexist content, if not intent, than there is about what follows from the conclusion. Some argue that description, not prescription, is the proper task at hand, and that scholarship should content itself with documenting and publicizing this pervasive instance of sexism in English. For others, obviously, this is not enough, but there remains the question of how far to go. Does one use language personally so as to minimize reliance on the generic masculine, and by example encourage others to do so? Does one advocate fairly low-key changes, such as the aforementioned "she or he ," despite the violation of familiar speech rhythms? Or does one endorse a more sweeping revision of the pronominal system? Though none of those cited earlier is any more arbitrary or illogical than what we have now, all share a liability which must be realistically assessed. Their adoption would require a revolution in usage rather than the evolutionary change which usually marks the growth of living languages. Many linguists, among them Key and Berkeley's Robin Lakoff, believe that radical pronominal changes are unlikely because pronouns tend to be more stable than nouns. (19:141-142;22:44-47)

A second broad area of inquiry into sexism and English has focussed on the lexicon. Etymologies as well as current definitions of pertinent words (such as "mister" and "mistress") are reviewed for evidence they may yield as to the changing comparative status of the sexes. Not only are scholars mining language for its insights into human history, but they are also exposing areas in our vocabulary which constitute a linguistic lag between past and present conditions.

One sizeable category of such words encompasses occupational titles. In America women constitute a significant and still rising percentage of the workforce, and jobs which were previously male preserves have been opened to them under anti-discrimination statutes and rulings. Yet many vocational titles in common use (such as "salesman," "newsboy," and "foreman") still employ the generic masculine rather than readily available neutral alternatives ("clerk," "carrier," and "supervisor").

Aside from attention to such outdated usages, perhaps the most ambitious projects on lexical vestiges of sexism center on the dictionary and the thesaurus. Traditionally viewed as authoritative if not sacred, dictionaries have been scrutinized to determine whether in their inclusion of terms, manner of definition, and use of illustrative material they are biased. In a study of 1974 *Random House Dictionary*, for example, masculine terms appeared three times more often than feminine ones in illustrative sentences, and many of the references to females were judged to be stereotyped. (11) Another study of *Webster's Seventh New College Dictionary* and their *New World Dictionary* found, among other things, that the listings for "woman" were shorter and less positive than those for "man." (17) The *American Heritage School Dictionary* was designed in part to correct such patterns. (12;33)

Just as the dictionary is now being critiqued from the standpoint of scholarship into linguistic sexism, so is the thesaurus. Marilyn French, for instance, recently reported the results of her comparative study of 1937 and 1962 editions. She analyzed such factors as the number, type, and content of the entries for key paired terms (such as "male" and "female" or "manly" and "womanly") and concluded that the thesaurus reflects as well as augments sex stereotypes through selection, omission, categorization, and description of items. (9) Lynda Kahn similarly discovered that over half of 26 non-slang synonyms for females in Roget's defined woman in relationship to man, while only three of 34 non-slang synonyms for males defined them in terms of women. (17;29)

The most diversified research being conducted at present concerns the potentially different ways in which women and men employ the language. General differences in substance and style have long been observed and noted by scholars like Whorf and Edward Hall, but these are now being systematically analyzed to determine the scope and nature of this phenomenon.

The most fundamental question raised thus far concerns whether women and men have, in fact, separate languages or whether they speak essentially the same language differently. This question cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of available evidence, but Cornell linguist Sally McConnell-Ginet offers a useful overview of the controversy in her balanced critique of Lakoff's work. (25) Furthermore, Susan Ervin-Tripp of Berkeley reminds us that ultimately it may prove more important to study the differences in usage within as well as between sex categories and the variables that explain them. (7:8)

Contributing to our eventual conclusion on this overall issue will be the current research into many comparative aspects of male and female language usage. Unfortunately, this paper can only illustrate the directions of such research with a representative example. For instance, do women use more "tag questions" (as in "Let's go to dinner, shall we?")

than men do--and, if so, what does this mean? Lakoff shared her impression that this was indeed the case and reasoned that it could reflect women's greater insecurity and tentativeness in speaking situations. (22:15-17) Key, too, concluded that women tend to add the tag question "to reinforce the feminine image of dependency" and to avoid appearing "aggressive and forward." (19:76)

Following up on such speculation, Betty Lou Dubois and Isabel Crouch of New Mexico State University executed an admittedly modest study in which it turned out that men, rather than women, employed tag questions. (6) On the other hand, when Maryann Hartman of the University of Maine tested the Lakoff hypotheses in "A Descriptive Study of the Language of Men and Women Born in Maine Around 1900," she confirmed the existence of a traditional women's language, which featured a tendency toward greater qualification, including the use of more tag questions. (7:81-90) Obviously, more research must be done, and more sophisticated designs need to be devised to clarify the nature and import of tag questions as they illustrate differential patterns of language usage.

It should be clear by now that there is no longer any reason to shape one's views on sexism and English in a vacuum. Abundant material exists to provide a context for testing one's assumptions and pursuing one's questions. Generally, popular literature on the subject can be used for such purposes as triggering discussion or following trends, but its ready accessibility is often offset by superficiality and stridency. The scholarly literature--while growing in both quantity and quality--must also be read critically. Much of the available research is preliminary, tentative, and controversial.

There are several particularly helpful sources for educators who want to follow future developments along these items. Among bibliographies, the most comprehensive is Thorne and Henley's, which runs

100 pages and is both extensively annotated and usefully categorized. (35:205-305) Another helpful bibliography, though briefer and unannotated, appears at the end of Key's book. (19:169-190) Such tools facilitate independent reading, but educators seeking a more structured exposure to the subject might enroll in a related university course, offered in increasing numbers since 1969 in departments like communication, English, linguistics, and speech. A third point of access to the latest research comes at professional meetings. Selected sessions of conventions sponsored by groups like the Modern Language Association, Speech Communication Association, or NCTE are recommended, as are occasional conferences devoted to this subject, such as the one at New Mexico State University in January, 1976. (7) Finally, one can subscribe to the inexpensive and informative Women and Language News, a periodic newsletter published by Stanford's Linguistics Department. Through this medium educators can exchange ideas with others approaching some aspect of the topic in their classrooms.

While widespread academic interest in sexism and English has been aroused too recently for us to expect a fully developed set of related pedagogical tools, some potentially helpful materials have been brought out. Librarians, in addition to keeping their collections current in this area, will want to consult Ch. 4 of Prejudices and Antipathies: A Tract on the Library of Congress Subject Headings Concerning People. This book by Sanford Berman, head cataloguer of Hennepin County Library in Minnesota, raises provocative questions about access to and categorization of holdings. (4) Journalism teachers and advisers might assign Columbia Journalism Review's recent article on changing guidelines within this profession as background reading for a content analysis of local newscopy. (21) English teachers can consider the suggestions listed in Again at the Looking Glass: Language Arts Curriculum Materials for Combatting Sex Stereotyping. (8:1-12) Among these are dictionary and vocabulary exercises and textual as well as media analyses, which students can perform singly or in groups. Business teachers can consult materials designed to eliminate sexist language from business communications. (10;39) Speech teachers might take note of Barbara Bate's recommendations concerning "Assertive Speaking" as a means of strengthening women's communicative style. (2)

Such reading should assist educators to explore the possible connections between their subject matter specialties and sexism in the language. Compared to politics, law, and economics, perhaps English still seems an unlikely battleground in the continuing campaign to extend women's rights. But it is precisely this subtle, even unconscious influence which language exercises on our modes of perception, cognition, and expression that requires classroom consideration of strategies for liberating the mother tongue. Only then will teachers and students appreciate the extent to which we can consciously manipulate our language and the degree to which it may have been invisibly manipulating us.

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CHAPTER 6

UNTANGLING THE FEMININE MATHTIQUE: WIDER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

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Persons with mathematical ability and know-how have buying power! Career potential where it pays--and that in a wide variety of fields--opens up to these individuals. Mathematics plays an important role in the daily work of many professionals, from the actuary, the aerospace and petroleum engineer to the finance manager, the operations research analyst, and the geophysicist. Applied mathematicians are involved in a broad scope of business, industrial, and governmental activities, from analyzing motor vehicle systems to studying the effects of new drugs on disease. In today's technological, computer-oriented world, the number of persons whose work depends to a greater or lesser extent upon mathematical expertise is rapidly growing.

Unfortunately, the limited (though increasing) participation of women in many of these higher paying business and technical fields is well documented. For example, although approximately one-third of the high school juniors and seniors who have the mathematical ability and show an aptitude for engineering are girls, only about 1 percent of the total engineering work force today are women (4:9). For one reason or another many women get caught up on the feminine "mathtique" idea that mathematics in its various guises is a male domain or is unneeded by women. Our society is changing in many ways, not the least of which is the diversity of career opportunities opening up to women with mathematical competencies.

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A recent study by John Ernest (7) supports that of the sociologist Lucy Sells (11) who concludes that mathematics (or rather the lack of it) is a "critical filter," tending to eliminate women from many career fields. In her study, Dr. Sells analyzed a random sample of entering freshmen at the University of California at Berkeley and found that 57% of the men but only 8% of the women had the four years of high school mathematics required for admission to intermediate level statistics and the standard calculus sequence. At that time, all but five of the twenty majors at Berkeley required either calculus or statistics. Thus, 92 percent of the female freshmen were automatically restricted to the remaining five fields (the humanities, music, social work, elementary education, and guidance and counseling), unless they were willing to do make-up work in mathematics.

In most universities, the calculus sequence is required for undergraduate majors in the natural, physical and life sciences; in engineering, optometry, and economics. In business and the social sciences calculus is also required for the sophisticated statistics used. Thus the filter effect. When women have poor backgrounds or are unprepared in mathematics, they often end up on the traditionally female and lower paying jobs.

Equity Problems in Mathematics Preparation

As Barbara Filner (8) states, this filter "does not have to be removed, but it should be desexed." One of Dr. Ernest's findings was that, in terms of liking the subject, mathematics was the only subject that exhibited no sex differences at the elementary and secondary levels (7). This same outcome (for eighth graders) was obtained by

L. R. Aiken (1). These findings indicate that there is nothing intrinsic about mathematics that makes it more appealing or enjoyable to one sex than the other. The farther along students proceed in school, however, the firmer there seem to emerge sex stereotypes that establish mathematics as a male domain. In terms of perceived achievement, elementary school girls in the 1,324 student Ernest sample felt that girls do better in all subjects (as boys thought boys do better). But, about half of the high school students (both boys and girls) in the sample were convinced that boys do better than girls in math and science.

Research studies on sex differences in mathematical ability present mixed results. Pre-1960 studies tend to confirm that boys are more proficient in mathematics (7). From later studies, however, a different picture emerges. For example, Wozencraft's study (16) concluded that girls are in fact better at arithmetic. The more recent results of the First National Assessment of Mathematics (2:35) indicate that neither sex has a clear advantage in computational ability, though females tend to do better on computation exercises demanding the application of a specific mathematical process. Males, on the other hand, generally do better on more complex exercises and on word problems. Within the last decade, many of these sex differences in mathematical achievement have been largely attributed to stereotyping, a product of social and cultural conditioning, rather than to innate ability differences (e.g. (7:7) and (3:6). Overall, on the National Assessment, male and female achievement was much the same for 9- and 13-year-olds; but the 17-year-old and particularly the adult male scored consistently higher (9:45). The table shows the numbers of exercises on which each sex had a higher rate of success (2:35). Females performed better or very similar to males throughout elementary and secondary school, peaking at about the 8th grade level. Adult males, however, performed noticeably better than females in the national sample. Of course, by that age, more males than females had taken advanced courses in mathematics.

NUMBERS OF EXERCISES ON WHICH MALES/FEMALES WERE MORE SUCCESSFUL

	Age 9	Age 13	Age 17	Adult
Number of exercises administered	33	37	33	18
Number of exercises on which more females answered correctly	20	31	15	4
Number of exercises on which more males answered correctly	13	6	18	14

Source: National Assessment of Educational Progress, Selected Results: Mathematics

Does this mean that men are more competent in mathematics than women? "Not so," says John Ernest. In the discussion of his study, Dr. Ernest points out that it is often after high school that the cumulative effect of years of being "taught" that mathematics is "unfeminine" begins to show, and women back away from math. Some women develop a real math anxiety or "mathophobia," and demonstrate a lack of confidence in their ability to handle even simpler mathematical tasks. As a consequence, there is lower enrollment and a high attrition rate for female students in college mathematics courses.

Outreach Programs

Cognizant of the problem, a number of campus outreach programs have been established within the past few years to help women (and men) deal with deficient mathematical backgrounds or their "math avoidance" feelings. Mills College in Oakland, California, for example, sponsors a popular precalculus course and a "Women in Science and Technology" program. The latter focuses on mathematical, computer, and scientific skills; acts as a clearinghouse for internships for women in industry; and cooperates with nearby Stanford on an engineering program for its students. MIT and Harvard are experimenting with programs for students with "math avoidance" problems. Purdue has developed a program of seminars and intensive counseling for the "Retention of Women in Science Disciplines." Wesleyan University has a regular "Math Anxiety Clinic." At Wellesley College in Massachusetts, a special "Discovery Course in Elementary Mathematics and Its Applications" has been designed. The Wellesley and Wesleyan programs share a common goal with other newly designed college and university programs: "to enable students who are anxious about math to build up their self-confidence and possibly choose careers in which they will use math." (12:43)

While work at the college level is important, in many cases it is too late. A few programs have begun to concentrate on more adequate career counseling, on providing role models, and on improving the attitudes and achievement of very young women before math anxiety and stereotyping have the chance to take hold. Three specific examples can be sited: the conference and workshop programs for 7th - 12th grade girls sponsored by Mills College; the "Math for Girls" course for 6- to 14-year-old girls conducted on site at the Lawrence Hall of Science, University of California, Berkeley; and the "Women and Mathematics" visiting lectureship program of the Mathematical Association of America. geared to tenth-grade girls. Regional information on this latter program can be obtained from Eileen L. Poinani, St. Peter's College, Jersey City, New Jersey 07306.

It is time that *all* schools, elementary to university, make special efforts to adequately inform young women of the role of mathematics in broadening career options, and to encourage them (particularly in high school) to elect as much mathematics as they can. It is important that teachers and counselors begin to initiate those changes which will assure that women are no longer "mathematically disadvantaged" in making career choices because of their inadequate mathematical training. Several suggestions in this direction are outlined below.

1. *Promote interest and self-confidence in mathematics*. If women are to develop expertise in mathematics, they must be attracted early. Positive attitudes toward mathematics and toward an individual's ability and need to learn mathematics should be fostered and supported.

2. *Encourage young women to explore their mathematical potential*. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (13:2), 9 out of 10 girls will join the work force some time during their life. It is important for an individual to take the time to explore and identify personal interests, goals, and abilities and *then* to match these with possible occupational choices. In view of the career importance of mathematics, one thing young women need to discover is how successful they can be in mathematics.

3. Provide current updates on the employment scene. Though women should be encouraged to consider the full range of careers which interest them, national employment trends might well be considered. Women who are informed about employment outlooks before making career selections will be better able to build the necessary educational background and to capitalize on existing economic opportunities as these align with their own goals and interests.

As background to interested teachers and counselors, the following information is provided:

- From now through 1985, the U. S. Labor Department (15) projects that growth in professional and technical jobs is expected to surpass the rate for all occupations combined, with concentrated demand for persons in engineering, systems analysis, personnel and labor relations, health, and social work. In the sciences, a high demand for geophysicists is predicted, with good prospects for chemists, physicists, biochemists, meteorologists, food and life scientists. The employment outlook for teachers (including mathematics teachers at all levels!) and lawyers is poor. The reader will note that most of the "employable" and high-paying fields above involve a strong mathematics component, both in the background training and in on-the-job activity.

- Hiring trends of employers in business, government, and industry, such as that analyzed and released by the College Placement Council (5:1) is also available on request. According to their July 1976 report, job offers to 1975-76 college female graduates (at the bachelor's level) were 59% higher than the previous year, while men's volume rose only 4% (an indication that more qualified women *are being considered* in the employment market. However, while women made up more than 40% of the graduates, offers to women accounted for only 19% of the *total* offers (an indication that women may not be training themselves in the more "employable" fields and that affirmative action programs still have work to do).

- The emphasis on the hiring of 1975-76 women graduates with technical backgrounds (and hence with mathematics in their training), was reflected by the fact that their average salaries were higher than those for men in all engineering positions except petroleum engineering (where they were lower), and metallurgical engineering (where they were about the same). According to the Placement Council, women's beginning salary offers were also higher than men's in accounting, chemistry, and computer sciences, but lower in other sciences and in business and marketing. In the fields where most women earn degrees (humanities and social sciences), beginning salary offers for women were dramatically lower than for men--by about 10% (5:9).

- On the average, women earn 59¢ for every dollar made by men (10:70). Several reasons account for this male-female salary differential. First, despite the fact that increasing numbers of women are securing higher level and better paying positions, women are still overrepresented in lower status occupations of a traditional nature where earnings are less and opportunity for advancement is limited (14:1). For example, in 1975 women accounted for 72% of all teachers (except college) and 78% of all clerical workers. But only 1 out of every 20 women who worked was a manager or administrator (and this usually in a small retail store (13:7)). Other major reasons for the earning power gap between men and women include the following: a) the greater proportion of women are at or near the entry level in the nation's work force; b) women tend to work less overtime than men; and c) discriminatory practices in hiring, salary scaling, and promotion, though decreasing, have not been entirely eliminated (14:2-3).

4. Provide successful role models. Role models play a crucial but often neglected role in career education. The opportunity to learn first hand, from successful women in the area, the realities, challenges, trials, and compensations of day to day work in a selected field can both stimulate and provide valuable insights to young aspirants. Symposiums, field trips, panel discussions, conferences, and informal chats which allow such opportunities is one significant way to help students make informed, realistic decisions about career goals and the education needed to reach them.

5. Help students plan for a life of multiple roles. The career world makes many demands on an individual's time and energy. Ensuing

problems which confront the single workers are often compounded by marriage and children when both husband and wife work. Realistically, both women _and_ men must prepare for a life of multiple roles, including the compromise and coordination necessary in a relationship that involves wife _and_ mother, husband _and_ father, where _both_ must work together to interweave dual careers with home and family responsibilities (3:22).

6. _Make information available to women on ways they can be more "employable."_ For example, the 1976 Endicott Report (6:5, 12), the annual survey of policy and practice in the employment of college and university graduates by business and industry, covering a total of 225 well-known companies, draws on employer responses to suggest that women increase their employability by acquiring work experience in business through part-time or summer jobs. Further, the report reveals that employers presently need individuals who have taken technical courses, especially engineering, or courses related to business such as accounting, business administration, economics, computer science and finance. Clearly the strong mathematical flavor of each of these fields mandates that women elect as much high school mathematics as possible if they are to keep career options open.

Mathematics indeed plays a major role in assuring career entry and career upward mobility, not only in engineering and the natural sciences, but also in other fields such as the social sciences and business administration. It is of utmost importance that women be adequately informed and encouraged in this regard. Otherwise it's like the Red Queen said to Lewis Carroll's Alice: "It takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."

With the facts, the mathematical background, and expanding economic horizons to match, today's young woman can more easily capitalize on her personal interests and abilities and choose her place in the modern career world.

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CHAPTER 7

SEX DIFFERENCES IN SPORT INVOLVEMENT: A CASE OF NONCONSCIOUS INEQUITY

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Consciousness and sensitivity for the female athlete is a recent phenomenon. As a consequence of legal implications, the federal government has required educational institutions to provide equal opportunity for girls and women to participate in sport programs. Discrimination on the basis of sex in either physical education or athletic programs has been strictly prohibited.

While such legislation is critical if equity is to be achieved, we should be careful not to interpret or resolve the issue of female sport participation (or lack thereof) from a purely legal perspective. To do so would neglect some important underlying determinants of sport involvement and would consider only the end product--actual sport participation. Unfortunately enforcement of the law alone will not automatically alter the fact that very few girls and women participate in sport. For example, Ralbovsky (1974) indicated that in 1973 there were approximately 9 million males and only a few thousand females between the ages of nine and nineteen involved in some form of organized sport. Thus, it appears that human behavior, whether at work or play, is greatly influenced by both the social environment the individual is in at a specific point in time, and by the environments he or she has been exposed to in the past (McPherson, Guppy, McKay, 1976). Hence, equity in sport involves social as well as legal processes.

Dr. Greendorfer, Assistant Professor, Department of Physical Education, University of Illinois, has conducted research on the socialization of women into sport and female sport participation patterns. In addition, she was a secondary teacher for six years.

The purpose of this article is to discuss and apply the principles of one fundamental social process to the context of sport involvement--the process of socialization. The contents represent a summary of literature and research pertaining to socialization into sport with particular emphasis on existent differences between the sexes. Although equity per se is not considered, an underlying assumption is that inequity does occur nonconsciously in the process of socializing children into sport. For this reason we maintain that an awareness and understanding of the mechanisms and principles of the social learning process are essential if equity in sport involvement is to be achieved.

SOCIALIZATION

Historically, the process of socialization has been systematically examined by three fields: psychology, sociology, and anthropology, each of which has developed specific concepts and offered distinctive theoretical frameworks. Regardless of approach, however, the basic interest in socialization has been concerned with discovering how individuals learn to interact with the expectations and obligations of various groups (Dinkmeyer, 1965). Consequently, socialization in its broadest sense can be defined as the process whereby persons become participants in their society; it is the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained. Thus, this process is a means by which society communicates to an individual the kind of person he or she is expected to be.

Although there are many orientations to the process of socialization, recent efforts in sociology have enabled scholars to delimit the concept further and focus on specific behaviors and dispositions. Therefore, for the purposes of our present discussion a social learning approach will be utilized (to identify social variables); the socialization process will be considered as continuous throughout the life cycle (Brim, 1966; Clausen, 1968); and role theory will be incorporated into socialization concepts (Sarbin and Allen, 1968; Goslin, 1969). From this perspective we can define socialization as the process whereby individuals learn to play various social roles necessary for effective participation in society. More specifically, sport participation can be viewed as a sport role and we can examine the means by which individuals acquire the necessary skills, dispositions, and knowledges to occupy a sport role (Kenyon, 1968; Kenyon and McPherson, 1973, 1974).

Sex Role Development and Socialization

One of the most critical aspects of the process of socialization is the development of sex roles. Three general theories pertain to sex-role development, and two incorporate general social learning concepts. The social learning theory of sex typing emphasizes such factors as, reward and punishment, and imitation in the development and strengthening of sex-typed behavior (Brim, 1958; Bandura and Walters, 1963). Since the second approach views sex typing as a product of identification, it will be considered as an aspect of social learning theory. The third general theory is a concomitant of cognitive development and maturation; from this perspective sex roles are the result of cognition and emerge independently of specific training and learning experiences (Kohlberg, 1966). Since the cognitive approach is more limited in scope and does not incorporate aspects of social learning, it will not be considered in this discussion.

From a social learning perspective, the acquisition of sex roles involves the notion of sex-typed behaviors, "...those which typically elicit different rewards for one sex than for another, whereby the consequences vary according to the sex of the performer" (Mischel, 1966:57). In a review of fundamental antecedents and underlying mechanisms of sex typing, Mussen (1969) mentioned that the family, peers, teachers, members of the community, and experiences of later childhood and adolescence influence the process. Mussen also noted that sex typing occurs early in life, and, if social learning theory is applicable, there had to have been rewards present for sex-typed behavior.

Sport and Socialization

In recent years the concept of socialization has been utilized to explain sport involvement (Kenyon, 1966, 1968; Kenyon and McPherson, 1973, 1974). Several empirical investigations have attempted to identify the variables that best contribute to the acquisition of sport roles, and general research findings have been discussed within the context of a social learning paradigm. From this perspective personal attributes of the socialized, the social structure, and significant others who are found in various social systems have been considered in the process of socializing individuals into sport (Kenyon, 1968; Kenyon and McPherson, 1973, 1974; McPherson, 1976b).

A second orientation relating sport to the process of socialization also exists. This one focuses on sport as a medium or vehicle for social learning, and the influence of sport on childhood and adolescent socialization is examined. It could be argued from this orientation that through games and sport, individuals learn appropriate sex-role behaviors. Crucial to this orientation is the belief that sex-role expectations existent in society at large are evident in the child's social world of play, games, and sport.

SEX ROLES AND SPORT INVOLVEMENT

Most of the research discussed in this section considers both aspects of the sport socialization process (i.e., socialization via and into sport). In the sections concerned with children's physical activity, play, games, and toys, the literature strongly suggests that socialization via sport is influenced by stereotypic notions of the cultural systems at large, and specific social systems of family, teachers, and peers in particular. Similarly, it is our position that consequences of socialization via sport strongly influence the process of socialization into sport, particularly in the case of females.

Sex Differences in Motor Behavior

A few early investigations in child development found little support for the notion that infant boys and girls receive any significant differential treatment by either or both parents (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957; Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957). However, these findings have been recently challenged, since several researchers have presented evidence to the contrary (Kagan and Lewis, 1965; Lewis, 1972a, 1972b). Observational studies by Goldberg and Lewis (1969) have revealed that there are sex differences in the way a mother treats a child by the age of six months particularly in the sphere of exploratory behavior. A mother is more likely to pick up an infant daughter and thus restrict the range and area over which the daughter may explore. Similarly, Lewis (1972a, 1972b) found that parents allowed boys more freedom to explore the play environment, to display aggressive behavior, and to engage in more vigorous activities with toys.

Additional evidence further supports the notion that differential expectations and pressures from parents exist, according to the sex of their children (Aberle and Naegele, 1952; Hartley, 1959; Rothbart and Maccoby, 1966). Inkeles (1968) reported that boys are trained to attain different objectives than are girls. Relative to game or sport experience, Stoll, Inbar, and Fennessey (1968) found that game types have a differential impact by sex; that is, sports participation is related to the expression of achievement values for males but not for females. Tasch's data (1952) demonstrated that certain types of motor abilities are instilled by fathers in sons in contrast to other types of abilities instilled in daughters. Specifically, fathers wrestle more with sons and are more apt to teach them gross motor skills. Thus, these findings suggest that sex-typed notions are incorporated into child rearing practices. Such findings may also relate to the stereotypic notion that females are more fragile than males.

Thus far, our discussion has focused on social learning influences on motor behavior. An important consideration which cannot be ignored is whether or not biological characteristics account for sex differences in motor performance or skill levels. Summarizing available information pertaining to physical growth and development, Sherif and Rattray (1976) indicated that girls are slightly taller and more mature, on the average, between the ages of five and twelve. Furthermore, sex differences in performance seem to be specific to type of task and vary according to age. Differences in performance of specific skills do not consistently favor one sex or the other. Thus, during this age range of childhood, age and task specificity appear to be as relevant factors in explaining differences in motor performance as is sex.

Between the ages of twelve and sixteen physical performance by girls on a variety of skills levels off or actually declines, while boys' levels increase. By the age of twelve a superiority of boys is found in most physical skills. According to Sherif and Rattray, size, strength, and similar correlates do not sufficiently explain this superiority. The authors conclude that differences are produced by combined effects of differential treatment, social interests, and social influences on the sexes. A girl learns with age that if she is physically active she is not going to get rewards from such activities (Sherif and Rattray, 1976:101). Success, failure, achievement, and excellence for children is less personal and more a social definiton of the value of an activity in the eyes of significant others. What is worth competing for and what is worth achieving is socially defined very differently for both sexes (Sherif, 1973). Girls learn by the age of twelve, if not sooner, that physical activity as well as manipulative skills rewarded in a "masculine arena" are not matters worth achieving or competing for (Sherif and Rattray, 1976:119).

Thus, sex differences relative to skills, motor performance, and body structure are minimal during childhood. Moreover, the degree of differences in performance, which appears at approximately age twelve, seems to be best explained by the operant reward system, incentive value and sex-role stereotyping--social influences. Girls striving for achievement in sports or physical activity run a high risk probability of losing peer and adult approval, since sport is a male domain and the reward system is structured for males only in this sphere of activities.

That such sex typing is directly relevant to schools becomes quite clear in one of Sherif and Rattray's conclusions. They feel that organized sport and physical education programs have taken existing sex differences and trends during child development as completely "natural" and have therefore contributed to the perpetuation of such differences. Further support of this type of institutional bias has been suggested by Sears and Feldman (1974), who mentioned that parents unconsiously start the process of inculcating sex-role behaviors, while teachers, also without being fully aware, continue the process.

A logical consequence, then, would be for the school to re-examine implicit assumptions about male and female abilities and capabilities for mastery of motor skills. Moreover, it may become necessary for the school (as a social system) to alter attitudes relative to children's motor performance and physical activity. Programs which assume equal and similar ability of both sexes in the process of motor skill acquisition are essential. Furthermore, if performance differences between the sexes do develop during childhood, the school should view such differences as a consequence of social influences and implement programs in accordance with such an assumption.

Although a biological basis exists for sex differences in adult motor performance, the school should realize that social influences similar to those operant during childhood can create even greater gaps between the sexes when motor performance is considered. Results from performance tests demonstrate actual declines in female performance with age which cannot be explained by biological factors. Some social scientists hypothesize that decreases in interest in physical activity and lack of rewards for performance account for such declines (Sherif and Rattray, 1976). A majority of adult women perform far below their own potential in physical activity. Thus, a comparison between the sexes which implies specific assumptions relative to male superiority is not a sufficient explanation for less than optimal performance of women.

Sex Differences in Toy and Game Preferences

Whereas the previous section considered general motor performance, this section will review pertinent data on sex differences in toy and game preferences of children. Specific to toy preferences, research results indicate that parents incorporate sex-typed notions in their child rearing practices. For example, in a recent review of sex differences Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) cited a consistent finding that children's selection of toys is sex typed. Boys were more likely to avoid the sex-inappropriate toys than were girls, and when a boy chose "girlish" activities or toys, both parents reacted quite negatively. In addition, the children were actively discouraged from playing with sex-inappropriate toys by their parents. The results also revealed that toy selection for males was more narrow in type and boys were subjected to more rigid socialization pressures than were girls.

Data on play behavior of children also reveal sex differences. Lewis (1972a, 1972b) found sex differences in play behavior at one year of age quite reminiscent of sex role differences found in older children and adults. He suggested that sex role appropriate play is already established by that early age. In a study of play choices, Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg, and Morgan (1963) demonstrated the existence of sex preferences at the ages of eight to nine years of age. They also discovered that from puberty onwards playing sports was a masculine phenomenon in American culture. In further support of this phenomenon, Stein, Pohly, and Mueller (1971) indicated that children themselves define active sports as more masculine than feminine and thus mirror adult stereotypes. Thus, several investigators have concluded that games and sports are positively associated with the male sex role but negatively associated with the female sex role (Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg, and Morgan; 1963; McPherson, 1976a).

In a study of play choices over a period of time, Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1961) found that the sexes have become increasingly similar in game preference over the last sixty years, and that the increasing similarity in game preferences was primarily due to shifts in female preference. This phenomenon of a wider choice of games by pre-pubertal girls has also been demonstrated by Brown (1958) and Ward (1968). Zoble (1973) considered such findings to be a consequence of a more generally prescribed sex role for females prior to puberty, hence a wide range of play choices. Zoble felt such choices would narrow after puberty when society offers a more definite stereotyped female sex role.

In summary, two interesting patterns emerge relative to sex differences in toy and game preferences. First, boys are more rigidly sex typed during childhood and are seldom allowed to deviate toward female toys and games, whereas girls are allowed a broader range of childhood activities and are permitted to engage in "male" play and game activities. Second, despite the leniency allowed girls during childhood, they learn by puberty that games and sports are masculine and are not spheres in which they will receive rewards. Both patterns are viewed as a consequence of sex typing and are perceived as a nonconscious institutionalized bias first initiated by parents (in the social system of the family) and continued by teachers (in the social system of the school).

Children's Socialization into Sport

Unfortunately very little research attention has been devoted to the process by which children are socialized into sport. Furthermore, the data that are available are on relatively few subjects, and as is typical in most sport research, the subjects have been male.

Orlick (1972) identified three factors which may be responsible for learning sport roles: 1) role models (a specific type of significant other whose behavior is emulated or modelled); 2) expectancies; and 3) sport related reinforcement. More specifically, Orlick found that boys who began to participate in organized sports at an early age had parents who were or had been effective role models. These boys came from an environment in which parents actually participated in sport. In addition, the family reinforced the son's sport participation. In this study an important consideration was the child's expectancy to be rewarded for such behaviors--which depended on his previous experience in sport. Observation of parents, siblings, or peers engaged in sport, enjoyment and receiving rewards such as praise or status would increase the probability of child's sport participation (Orlick, 1972). In contrast, when significant others are uninterested or dislike certain activities (i.e., sport), the probability of interest or sport participation of a child is greatly diminished (Pressy and Kuhlem, 1957).

McPherson (1976a) claimed that much variation in involvement and subsequent success in sport is accounted for by the social milieu in which one is socialized. Regardless of motor talent, unless children are exposed to social systems in which they have the opportunity to engage in sport and receive positive sanctions, it is unlikely that games and sport will become a salient aspect of life styles (McPherson, 1976a:2). Similarly, a child must interpret the sport situation as having positive consequences if he or she is to become involved in sport (Orlick, 1974). Positive personal expectations precede participation.

Although not extensive, the data available on childhood environmental settings of females who participate in intercollegiate sport tend to support the theoretical considerations suggested by Orlick and McPherson. For example, during childhood a majority of the girls' fathers and approximately half of their mothers actively participated in sport at least once a year (Greendorfer, 1974). A replication study revealed that 88 percent of both parents participated in sport more than once a year (Greendorfer, 1976). Thus, the presence of role models within girls' families indicates a striking similarity to the home environment identified by Orlick (1972) in his study of boys. In addition, over 70 percent of the women indicated that the family was the initial agency generating their childhood interest and participation in sport (Greendorfer, 1974, 1976). Hence, a favorable family environment with parents actually participating in sport appears to be a significant factor in female sport involvement.

Recently, some researchers have suggested that the activity level of a child has a direct effect on the level of activity in later adult years. In contrast, inactivity in youth tends to result in inactivity during adulthood (Sofranko and Nolan, 1972; Yoesting and Burkhead, 1973). However, data presented by Spreitzer and Snyder (1976) indicated sex differences in this pattern; sports participation during youth was a strong predictor of adult sports for men but not for women. Parental encouragement concerning sports was more important for women than for men. They also indicated that perceived athletic ability was the strongest predictor of adult sports involvement for both sexes.

Relative to the child in sport, it appears that he or she becomes involved through the process of social learning. Sport behavior is strongly influenced by agents of socialization or significant others who either demonstrate appropriate sport roles and/or reward sport behavior.

Consequently, a child's expectancies relative to sport involvement are reinforced. Through this process children gain predispositions, attitudes, and values toward sport.

We must also consider, however, that it is possible for children not to be socialized into sport; or, once in sport, children can be socialized out of sport and become uninvolved. Thus, the process works in both directions. Social class origin, race, ethnicity, and religion represent only a few social structure variables which influence sport involvement (Kenyon, 1966, 1969; Loy, 1969; Luschen, 1970; Weinberg and Arond, 1952). However, the mechanism by which these factors operate or exactly how they influence the sport socialization process in either direction is not understood. Some researchers feel that social class, race, ethnicity and other social structure variables may expose children to certain kinds of opportunities to participate in sport while eliminating them from other opportunities. In addition some feel that values, attitudes, and norms found within specific subcultures differ significantly from those of mainstream society, and such variables could influence children's sport involvement (McPherson (1976a). Although data indicate that higher social classes tend to participate more in sport, that certain sports tend to be identified with certain social classes and ethnic groups (e.g., the lower class is more associated with team and combative sports, while the upper class is more associated with individual and dual sports), and that there is differential sport participation according to race and sex (i.e., blacks are overrepresented in professional sports, while women are underrepresented in all types of sport participation)--reasons for these patterns are not clear. Apparently some social influences do not socialize children into sport. However, we have not identified specific variables nor can we clearly explain the existence of differential sport participation. Much more research into the "flip side" of the coin (i.e., absence of sport socialization) is necessary.

Perhaps some insight into this problem can be gained when we consider how or why children are socialized out of sport. Orlick (1973) indicated that boys who are nonparticipants fear failure and do not consider themselves good enough to make the team. Therefore, he suggested a negative self-image is created which becomes a deterrent to sport participation. Similarly, Sherif and Rattray (1976) feel that in a society which places a high value on team competition, adults will selectively reward the faster maturing boy--and not the girl--because his performance and development more closely approximate adult standards.

Research on athletic dropouts cites emphasis on competition as the major reason for elementary age boys discontinuing sport (Orlick, 1973, 1975). Orlick found that many children have been "turned off" to competitive sport by the age of nine due to lack of opportunity to play (i.e., sitting on the bench), excessive criticism by the coach, and a general feeling of failure. He concluded that if participation is to be maximized, experience must be fun, positive, and rewarding. Guppy (1974) found that by grade seven 39 percent of the boys and 30 percent of the girls stopped participating in interschool sport. However, further analyses revealed that 75 percent of the boys and 50 percent of the girls continued to be involved in organized sports in the community. McPherson (1976a: 42) suggested that the apparent high drop-out rate from school sport may reflect a shift of involvement from one level or type of organized sport to another, rather than a complete withdrawal from the role of athlete. Furthermore, he suggests that coaches and parents recognize there may be unique sport differences in drop-out rates and in reasons for becoming uninvolved.

A particularly interesting finding was that reasons for dropping out of sport vary according to age (Orlick, 1973). For example, at high school age 60 percent dropped out because of the competitive emphasis, while 39 percent dropped out because of conflict of interest (i.e., development of interest in activities other than sport). Yet, all children at the elementary school level withdrew because of the competitive emphasis in the program.

Martens (1976) suggested another factor which may influence socialization out of sport, namely, the school. He suggested that the school may serve as a screening device--socializing the superior athlete into sport and socializing the less gifted out of sport. Unfortunately, the relationship between physical education programs or the role of the physical educator in the sport socialization process is not known. Knowledge pertinent to this relationship would be extremely valuable, as will become obvious in our historical examination of physical education's philosophy toward competition for women.

In summarizing this section, then, we can conclude that important socialization influences include; 1) role models, with parents being particularly significant; 2) reinforcement and rewards from significant others; and 3) a socializing situation (opportunity set) conducive to active sport involvement. A major difference found between children who are active versus those who do not participate in sport can be attributed to the role of the family and the positive environment it provides. The school has not been discussed as a major social system through which children are socialized into sport. Yet, if programs with an overemphasis on competition exist in the school, it is possible the school may be screening children out of sport. Similarly, the role of the physical educator in the sport socialization process is unclear (since it has not been investigated). Of greater importance, however, due to the implementation of Title IX, research pertaining to the role the physical education program plays and the degree of its influence on the female sport socialization process is lacking.

Female Socialization into Sport

Although this section should be devoted exclusively to specific aspects of female sport socialization, inclusion of important research findings pertaining to male athletes as well as a review of historical precedents within the field of physical education is considered relevant. Hopefully, it will further enrich our knowledge and sensitivity relative to sport involvement for girls and women.

Several investigations on male Olympic and intercollegiate athletes have utilized the previously mentioned social learning paradigm (see the "Sport and Socialization" section) as a general framework to identify which social systems contribute to sport role learning (Kenyon, 1969, 1970; McPherson, 1968, 1972; Roethlisberger, 1970). In his study of 113 athletes competing for a position on the 1968 United States Olympic Track and Field Team, Kenyon (Kenyon and McPherson, 1973) found that 96 percent of the sample indicated general involvement in sport at an early age. In addition, the majority were successful at an early age, indicating a high level of sport aptitude. Furthermore, Kenyon's results demonstrated the influential role of the school in the sport socialization process. More specifically, Kenyon found that ability did not totally account for involvement or later success, since 50 percent did not compete in track and field until after they entered high school. Over 75 percent of the athletes indicated that their interest in the activity was first aroused at school. In addition, the athletes indicated that the students and teachers valued track and field and considered it to be an important extracurricular activity for students. Thus, the learning of a sport role was situationally influenced by significant others who taught and reinforced the specific role behaviors within a specific social setting (Kenyon and McPherson, 1973). Additional support demonstrating the important influence of the school as an agency for sport socialization was supplied by Roethlisberger in his examination of Olympic gymnasts (1970).

Kenyon and McPherson (1973) have suggested that the influence of significant others may be differential over time, may be sport specific, and may be specific to various ethnic groups. For example, in their examination of black aspirants in track and field, they discovered that the family initiated the sport socialization process. Furthermore, significant other influence varied for each life cycle stage (i.e., family prior to high school; track coaches, peers, and mother in high school; peers, track coaches, and father in college). Regardless of race, however, the school appeared to be the most important socializing milieu, and the peer groups and coaches the most influential significant others (Kenyon and McPherson, 1973).

In two investigations of college athletes (McPherson, 1968; Unpublished study, 1969) many similarities in the sport socialization process were found. However, the social situation in which interest in a specific sport is first generated varies by sport (i.e., baseball is initiated at home and in the school; fencing and crew almost entirely in the school; football at home and in the neighborhood).

Whereas the educational system has played a significant role in socializing males into sport, to what extent can the same be said for sport participants, data indicated that teachers and coaches (the school) become influential in the sport socialization process only during the adolescent stage of the life cycle (Greendorfer, 1974, 1976). However, in both instances the females had begun their participation during childhood (approximately 78 percent were involved in some type of sport prior to the age of eight). Thus, Greendorfer suggested that the school merely reinforced sport role behaviors which were learned elsewhere.

Results indicating a minimal influence by the school on female sport socialization may not be too surprising when we consider some historical precedents relative to the development of interschool and intercollegiate sport for women. Despite the presence of some competition for women in schools and colleges around 1890, physical educators have reflected a history of opposition to intercollegiate sport for girls and women since 1900 (Gerber, 1974). Assumption of girls' track and field by the Amateur Athletic Union in 1922 was most likely the critical event which triggered a reaction by women physical educators to create their own organization and control women's athletics. By 1923 a national philosophy rejecting the general concept of competition for women was formally articulated, and this policy was reaffirmed by the professional association to which both men and women physical educators belonged (American Physical Education Association). For nearly fifty years this policy, sanctioned by the profession in general and controlled by women's sport organizations in particular, governed the conduct of sport for women. There was a de-emphasis on winning, while the philosophy of "sport for all" and the emphasis on social values through sport was in concert with Dewey's philosophy of education (e.g., "the greatest good for the greatest number"). These historical considerations are particularly relevant to the process of socialization.

During this period of time few departments of physical education for women separated the three functions of teacher preparation, general physical education, and extracurricular physical recreation or sport into different staff responsibilities (Gerber, 1973). Thus, the same people who ran sport programs conducted teacher education programs and socialized teachers into the national philosophy. Although contemporary intercollegiate programs began in 1957, it was not until 1971 that the Division of Girls and Women's Sport subscribed to the belief that teams for girls and women should be provided (Gerber, 1974). Thus, we must understand that the recency of this philosophical change and the advent of Title IX may not be sufficient to immediately counteract past socialization practices in physical education.

Although schools, colleges, and physical educators have demonstrated a willingness to comply with the law, insufficient attention has been given to the re-socialization process, whereby the educational system in general and physical educators in particular need to alter attitudes, values, beliefs, and normative sanctions--all of which create an atmosphere and provide the type of environment in which the process of socializing girls into sport may take place.

Additional support for the notion that the school is not a significant social system in the female sport socialization process comes from some descriptive data obtained on female intercollegiate participants (Greendorfer, 1974, 1976). When asked which agency was most responsible for generating interest in sport, the highest percentage indicated that the neighborhood and peers, whereas less than one fourth listed the school. More important, however, was the fact that 61 percent of one sample and 55 percent of the second indicated that there was no girls' sport program in their elementary school. A more recent study on children's socialization into sport yielded similar results. For example, 45 percent of the sample indicated that the family originally initiated sport interest, 28 percent mentioned neighborhood, and 18 percent listed the school (Lewko and Greendorfer, 1977). Moreover, this pattern was identical for both boys and girls.

The data on college participants demonstrated that the place where sport participation occurred changed during various life cycle stages; however, the shift in significant other influence (i.e., the specific social systems of family, peers and teacher,coaches) did not clearly conform to this change of facilities (Greendorfer, 1974, 1976). More specifically, during childhood the girls tended to play in neighborhood streets, whereas during adolescence and at the college age the major facility for participation was the school or college campus. Despite some slight differences in results from both investigations, when significant other influence was compared over corresponding life cycle stages, an observable pattern of influence was detected. Again, this pattern did not identically correspond to the shifts observed in place of participation.

For example, in one investigation, family as well as peers accounted for childhood sport involvement (Greendorfer, 1974), while in the second, only peers were significant predictors of sport involvement. In both studies, the school was not a significant factor during childhood participation. During adolescence teachers,coaches, as well as peers, were the most significant social systems. At the adult stage the results from one study indicated peers were the most significant and the family was significantly not a factor at this stage, while teachers, coaches were unimportant (Greendorfer, 1974). In contrast data from the second study indicated that only peers accounted for adult participation (Greendorfer, 1976). Thus, the data demonstrate that the role of peers is significant throughout the life cycle while that of teachers, coaches is significant only during adolescence. However, the role of the family as a social system in the female sport socialization process is not clearly understood given our present data base. It appears that the family is influential in initiating the process, but in comparison to the peer group, the family may simply be less important.

Therefore, further research is needed to determine precisely who in the family influences the process and how the family members initiate sport socialization. Perhaps siblings are more important than parents, or vice versa. Perhaps the sex of the child determines how the family affects the process. Relative to this point, some preliminary analyses on children revealed that fathers teach boys sport skills, while sisters teach girls sport skills (Lewko and Greendorfer, 1977). The need for more penetrating research relative to family influence on female sport socialization has become quite evident given our inability to explain different results from one investigation to another. Similarly, two investigations concerned with female socialization into sport hardly exhaust the topic.

As previously mentioned in research dealing with male athletes, role models are important agents in the sport socialization process. Data pertinent to sex of role models influencing female sport involvement revealed that during childhood male role models were more significant than female models; this pattern was partially evident during adolescence, but was not found during the adult stage (Greendorfer, 1974, 1976). In general the influence of male role models decreased over the life cycle, while the significance of female models increased. This shift in sex of role models might be a direct reflection of the separation of physical education and sport programs prevalent prior to the implementation of Title IX.

However, if role models were viewed from a very narrow perspective--that of athletes only--male athletes proved to be more dominant for each life cycle stage, whereas female athletes were never significant (Greendorfer, 1974, 1976). This latter result may be a reflection of the type of sport coverage presented by the mass media. Publicity about and coverage of women's athletic events have been recent media innovations. Similarly, visibility given and identification of female athletes as heroines have also been recent consequences of a growing sensitivity to the plight of the female in sport. (Obviously, much more research on the impact of the mass media on sport socialization is necessary.)

Before concluding this section, a few additional research findings should be included. Investigators have indicated that two factors--significant other influence and strength of opportunity set (e.g., those social situations which facilitate sport participation--available programs, equipment, proximity to facilities, etc.)-- substantially contribute to sport role enactment (Kenyon and McPherson, 1973, 1974).

However, Greendorfer (1974) found that early age of sport involvement was best explained by one factor: influence of significant others. Opportunity set was not associated with early age of sport involvement.

The data indicated that high (or strong) significant other influence was associated with younger ages of sport involvement. That is, girls receiving strong, positive significant other influence began participating in sport at younger ages than did girls who received low or weak significant other influence.

Hence, people, not facilities or equipment, may be more significant in generating sport interest. Similarly, an opportunity to participate may not be recognized as such to a female who has not acquired the necessary skills, knowledges, dispositions and habits to occupy the role of sport participant. If such is the case, then some recasting of theoretical paradigms will be in order, as the present model considers reference group influence and opportunity set to simultaneously influence the sport socialization process.

Additional support for these hypothesized relationships is provided from a pilot study by McNally (1974) who indicated that not being good enough and being made to feel inferior or unacceptable were reasons high school girls did not participate in sports. Similarly, Schmitter (1974) found that most girls felt that if they did not have a good background in the game they would not consider participation in their university intramural program. Only 140 of 4,000 females participated in intramurals, while over half of the male population at the same university were involved in intramurals. Perhaps some of the previously mentioned sex differences in sport participation patterns serve as additional indicators that females are "insufficiently" or "incompletely" socialized into sport.

In summary, then, data from research pertaining to male athletes revealed that the school is the most influential setting in which male sport socialization takes place. Although peers, coaches and family are the most influential social systems, this influence may be differential over time, may be sport specific, and may vary according to ethnic or racial background. The data on female sport socialization revealed that the school was not an important setting. Rather, the school seemed to be reinforcing behavior patterns learned elsewhere. Perhaps historical precedents relative to the philosophical position taken by the field of physical education may explain this major difference between the sexes in sport socialization. In many respects the process for women is similar to that of men. The female begins to participate in sport at an early age. The family appears to generate initial interest in sport involvement--however its precise role is not clearly understood--peers are influential throughout the life cycle, and teachers,coaches are only influential during adolescence. In addition, the role of opportunity set does not seem to be as significant in initiating the process as is reference group influence.

Implications for Educational Policy

The necessity of data cannot be overemphasized when policy planning is an objective. In order to implement change relative to girls or women in sport, much more knowledge about female sport socialization is needed. The meaning of equal opportunity as provided for sex equity legislation should be carefully evaluated, as current data indicate that present sport programs appeal to females who have a previous history of sport involvement. Moreover, most female participants seem to come from the middle class or above (much like her male counterpart). It may well be that the present means to obtain equal opportunity in sport are not sufficient insofar as a broad population of girls and women has not been reached.

Therefore, relative to policy, one suggestion would be to focus most energies and attention toward the elementary school age female. A concerted effort to involve young girls in sport could be provided by several agencies--the school, public recreation programs, and private groups--which would offer a strong base for the teaching of fundamental motor skills and knowledges necessary for competent sport participation. In addition, the significant others who operate in these institutions can play a crucial role in altering the normative system which only rewards males for sport participation and achievement.

Thus, an education for social change in attitudes is necessary. As a first step we can eliminate such words as masculine and feminine when we refer to sport participation. If exercise and physical activity are beneficial to health, why then does skill acquisiton and achievement in such activity receive sexist connotations? If sport is appropriate and good for boys, then it is appropriate and good for girls.

Most critical in the issue of sex equity is the implementation of policies which grasp the substance or meaning of the law. What has been suggested in this chapter is pervasive social change. Hopefully, research pertaining to the female sport socialization process can assist in achieving such an objective.

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CHAPTER 3

A PERSPECTIVE ON SEXISM & CULTURE

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I recently attended a dinner party held by a Latino association. At one point in the evening, the master of ceremonies introduced the persons present at the dinner. The introductions were: "Mr. ______ and his wife" (literally, "and his woman" - "y su mujer"), or "the widow of Mr. ______," "the daughter of Mr. ______." At no point in the introductions was any woman introduced as a person in her own right. This was not done maliciously; it just didn't occur to him to do otherwise, and to the majority of the persons present, it was entirely proper. Even the women involved did not take exception to their lack of identity.

To me, it highlighted the "benign neglect" aspect of sexism in a Latino society. A woman exists in a Latino society, but her identity is derived from her father, husband, or other male. She is a "non-person" in the sense that her intrinsic personality is rarely accorded recognition except as an adjunct to a male. It is not a deliberate attempt by a so-called "macho" society to deprive her of her identity; it is just considered an unimportant detail that does not require attention. The fact that such an oversight could (and does) offend and hurt some women is not a factor that occurs to the persons involved. Indeed, if it were brought to their attention, sincere apologies would be offered, although there would be a lack of understanding of the reasons why offense was taken.

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As a guest at this party, it would have been considered impolite for me to voice my objections. As a woman and a feminist, I was angry, hurt, and offended. I was also frustrated by the fact that, at a time when women are beginning to break the barriers imposed by sexist practices in American society, I and other Latino women still are at the stage of raising our society's consciousness to our very existence as persons in our own right. It is as a Latina, and as a feminist, that I share these thoughts with you regarding the impact of culture and sexism in an educational setting.

With the ratification of six federal enactments relating to equity with regard to sex, five of which specifically prohibit sex and race discrimination in educational institutions, educators are faced with the challenge of making education truly individualized and responsive to the needs of all children. (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) The two enactments which seem to have most profoundly challenged educators are Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and the Women's Educational Equity Act of the Education Amendments of 1974. Yet, both these enactments simply seek to ensure an equal education for all children regardless of sex. Title IX prohibits discrimination against students and others on the basis of sex. The Women's Educational Equity Act is designed to assure educational equity to girls and women at all levels of the educational system. In light of the societal conditioning of all concerned, and the inherent inertia of all bureaucratic systems, the implementation of only these two enactments would seem a formidable task!

To what are we referring when we speak of sexism? What is sexism? According to the McGraw Hill Book Company, sexism is a "word (that) was coined by analogy to racism, to denote discrimination based on gender.

In its original sense, sexism referred to prejudice against the female sex. In the broader sense, the term now indicates any arbitrary stereotyping of males and females on the basis of gender." (7) I believe that sexism includes not only the stereotyping of a person solely in terms of that person's gender, but also the modification of that person's behavior and values into socially acceptable roles for that particular gender. It affects everyone, and like all stereotyping, is generally negative in its connotations.

As used in this article, a stereotype is "an oversimplified generalization about a particular group...that usually carries derogatory implications." (8:5) Sex stereotyping has occurred in the educational system since its inception. Most of it has not been intentionally carried out, but rather, it has surfaced in subtle ways in the curriculum, vocational counseling, school activities, sports, etc. Much research has been done with regard to the detrimental effects of such stereotyping upon children and its carryover into society itself. Remedial efforts, of which the enactments are only a part, have been started to attempt to compensate for the damage created by these stereotypes. It has proven to be a slow process.

In the area of sexism in education, research has shown the detrimental effects of such simple acts as the assignment of classroom tasks by gender, or of expecting boys to be good in math and girls to be good in the language arts. Until recently, most school libraries contained very little regarding the accomplishments of women and their contributions to society. Guidance counselors have consistently counseled girls into service careers such as nurses, clerks, and secretaries on the unspoken assumption that girls are going to get married and leave their careers for the home and, therefore, careers such as medicine, law and engineering would be wasted on them. The reality of the large numbers of women in the work force is not taken into account. The fact that 6.6 million women are heads of households is also overlooked. (9) Nor does the world of education treat its female practitioners with less sexism. Studies have shown that female teachers and professors have been consistently given lower salaries than their male peers, and face many difficulties in advancing in their chosen profession. These areas and others are now being addressed by the educational system. Those involved in this process can verify the difficulties involved in attempting to correct patterns of behavior and thought that have existed for so many years.

As agents of change, educators must not only implement changes to eliminate sexism, but they must simultaneously also respond to the special needs of their ethnic and racial minority students. I do not propose to provide a panacea, nor will I presume to speak for all minority women. I do not even presume to speak for all Hispanic minority women. I shall simply speak from the perspective of one Hispanic minority woman and present some points that the reader might wish to consider when approaching the problem of educational equity and the minority student.

We all function as a part of society and are molded by the mores of our particular society and culture. The minority student is no exception. The main difference is that the minority student must function in two or more societies and cultures. They must function in their native society and culture, in the mainstream culture and society, and, sometimes, in the amalgamated society and culture of bilingual and bicultural individuals. The demands of these societies and cultures can often be complementary;

however, they can also be terribly divisive forces to the minority student. Role definition and expectations are areas that elicit extreme societal and peer pressures upon the minority student.

In attempting to respond to the requirements of the enactments regarding educational equity and to the special needs of minority students, it is incumbent upon the educator to find out what is and is not required by the enactments. Awareness of cultural differences must also be developed in order to effect a plan of action that will adequately meet the needs of the students. It is in the area of implementation that our cultural biases, as well as our stereotypes, tend to be most obvious.

Teachers set levels of expectations for children whether consciously or unconsciously. If these levels of expectations are based upon a negative stereotype, and the child accepts the stereotype, the child will perform to the level of that expectation and forgo her/his potential. For example, the Hispanic minority girl who accepts the typical stereotype of being passive, docile, and male dominated will perform as such, and her inability to grow into her own potential can result in determining her economic future. While there is the need to develop the Hispanic child's potential and to break the fetters of role stereotyping, in so doing, the educator enters the perilous realm of cultural conditioning--both her/his own and the child's.

What is culture? As used here, a culture is "...all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and nonrational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men. Traits, elements, or better, patterns of culture in this definition are organized or structured into a system, or set of systems which, because it is historically created, is therefore open and subject to constant change." (10:554)

Whenever persons attempt to communicate with each other, they assume that certain basic concepts are common to them and to the person(s) with whom they are attempting to communicate. Usually this assumption is correct. However, in attempting to communicate with persons of another culture, one finds that these basic concepts will differ. This is not to say that one's basic concepts are better or worse than the other's; they are simply different.

I shall attempt to examine some of the cultural traits of Hispanic students as compared to the cultural traits that "typical" American educators would possess, in the hope that this knowledge will assist the reader in avoiding cultural pitfalls in the process of implementing a program of educational equity. It should be noted that these are selected, general, cultural traits that interrelate with many other cultural traits that are not addressed in this article, such as the concepts of respect for elders, importance of roles of educators vis-a-vis students, etc.

One of the basic concepts held by Americans in general is the belief in the importance of the individual along with the need to nurture the growth of individualism in everyone. This is not a concept deemed important in all cultures. In a Hispanic culture, the individual is subordinate to the group, be it the peer group, the family, the organization, etc. Individualism is valued only as it contributes to the group. Behavior and thinking is largely determined by the group of which the individual is a part. For example: a teacher might ask a student, "What do you think really happened to cause the American Revolution?", or "What would you have done in that situation?", in her/his belief that, as an individual, the student's answer is important.

However, to a student who has not grown up in an atmosphere that values such independence, these questions would cause confusion and insecurity. The answer that would be given, if any, would be one that reflected the beliefs held in general by the class, or those known to be held by the teacher. If the teacher is attempting to foster independent thinking on the part of the student, it is important that the necessity of encouraging and rewarding the student be recognized, and that a system of support be created to encourage further independent exploration. Such a support system is necessary because the child's society is not one that will provide this support and may actively discourage it. As educators attempt to look upon each child as an individual who can develop the ability to determine her/his life, they are introducing a concept that is strange and potentially irrelevant to the Hispanic child's home environment. Individualism, with its concurrent independence from others, is not a part of the Hispanic social structure.

Neither is the concept of independence from one's parents a familiar one to a Hispanic person. The family is the most important element of Hispanic culture. It is not the nuclear family unit common to American culture, but rather, the extended family unit encompassing many relatives and many generations. This family system carries with it obligations that take precedence over obligations to society in general. For example: a child would consider the obligation to watch over siblings to be more important than getting homework done, and so would the other family members. There is a continued interdependence between all members of the family unit, and the concept of independence from the family is an alien one.

Because of the importance of the family, and the interdependency of the family members, the concept that sex-role stereotyping is detrimental to the persons involved is not one that has been closely examined. In many ways, the person's role gives her/him an identity. Since she/he has not had a role as an individual, but as part of a whole, it is difficult to understand that there are other options. It is the role of the educator to bring these options to the light in a way that they can be relevant options to the Hispanic child. For example: a counselor who had a promising Hispanic girl as one of the students assigned to her, actively encouraged the student to go to college after graduating from high school. She encouraged the student to apply for financial assistance, to take the necessary tests, and to prepare for going to college. However, the counselor neglected to take into account the role expectations of the student's parents. They strongly objected to the counselor's advice to their daughter because their daughter was going to "work at a job until she married and became a good wife and mother as everyone knows all girls should do." She was forbidden to go to college and obeyed her parents. If the counselor had spoken with the parents and been successful in convincing them of the existence of other equally acceptable role options for their daughter, the options offerred to the student would have been relevant ones for her, and she would not have cherished hopes that were doomed to failure.

As with the concept of obligations to the family unit, obligations to ones friends also take precedence over obligations to standards of conduct. Friends are considered to be almost family, and friendship is therefore an honor that also carries obligations.

American culture is grounded in the belief that "...all men are created equal..." and that, despite differences of status and economics, all people have the same intrinsic value. Differences of status and economics have no direct correlation to the intrinsic value of the person as a human being. This is not so in other cultures, including the Hispanic culture. Emphasis on class and status levels do directly reflect upon the intrinsic value of the person, and members of that culture function accordingly. Educators attempting to teach Hispanic children the values of being independent individuals must also remember that the concept of the intrinsic worth of an individual must be addressed in order to provide the other concepts with meaning.

Another American cultural trait is the tendency to describe persons in terms of what they have done, or in terms of their occupations (i.e., she's a doctor, or, he has written three books). In a Hispanic culture the tendency is to describe others in terms of their relationships (i.e., he's Maria's brother-in-law, or, she's my wife), or in terms of their traits (i.e., he's a good person, or she's a kind woman). This tendency can also be noted in the incident described in the introduction. Thus, there is a return to the fact that an individual is defined also by role, and that, as the educator presents the possibility of multiple roles to the child, it becomes possible for the child to begin to define herself/himself in a multifaceted manner.

The American culture places much emphasis on competition between individuals as a means of motivation. The Hispanic culture does not place much emphasis on individual competition as a motivating factor. Other incentives, such as the honor of the family, are used in the place of individual competition. This is a factor that educators should take into account in attempting to motivate their Hispanic students.

As educators help all children, regardless of sex, to develop their own potential, they must examine exactly what they mean by "potential." If it means the development of equal, independent individuals who can compete with each other and contribute to their society, they must realize the cultural conflicts that this meaning of "potential" can cause. This is not to say that nothing should be done for fear of cultural miscommunications. However, the task should be approached with a sensitivity to the cultural biases of the educator and to those of the students. Support systems must be built so that the ethnic minority student is not caught in a situation where, in adjusting to the opportunities offered by Title IX, she/he no longer functions either as a member of her/his own society or as a member of the mainstream society.

As educators, it is important to realize that these cultural differences exist and to take them into account as attempts are made to correct past deficiencies in the educational system. The extent to which one succeeds in understanding these cultural differences and incorporating this knowledge into one's activities should increase as one becomes more aware of them and will provide a better foundation for making educational changes that will benefit all children, regardless of race, ethnic background, and sex.

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CHAPTER 9

CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORIES: ARE THEY SHORTCHANGING WOMEN'S CHOICES?

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> ...certain employments have exclusively been assigned to women and that their sex is supposed to disqualify them for any other. Women are defective. They are seldom or never metaphysicians, chemists, or law givers. Why? Because they are seamstresses and cooks.... They cannot read who never saw an alphabet. They who know no tool but the needle, cannot be skillful at the pen.
>
> Charles Brockden Brown
> Alcuin: A Fierce and Elegant
> Plea for the Rights of Women
> 1798

The question of why women are "seldom or never metaphysicians, chemists, or lawgivers" is still being asked today. What are the determinants of a woman's career choice? That the determinants of career choice differ for men and women has been documented by research (Harmon, 1971; Astin & Myint, 1971; Super, 1957; and Matthews & Tiedeman, 1964). However, the theories of career development that have been formulated to explain how and why individuals choose careers have not always recognized that the career development of women differs sharply from that of men.

Historically, weaving and cooking were the only provinces open to most American women, who were raised with no idea of earning their own living. In just over a hundred years, significant changes have occurred. American women have gained admittance to the public schools, fought and won the battle of suffrage, struggled in the labor movement, replaced

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men on farms and factories during two world wars, and a few have even attained high political office.

Although career development theories are still in the infancy stage, considerable research has been devoted to the subject in the last 20 years (Ginzberg, 1951; Roe, 1956; Super, 1957; Tiedeman & O'Hara, 1963; Psathas, 1968; and Holland, 1973). The scarcity of research directed toward the study of women's occupational choice has also been documented (Psathas, 1968; Harmon, 1974; Astin & Myint, 1971; Schlossberg, 1972; and Farmer, 1971). The implication of this omission is that significant gaps exist in current career development theories. This paper relates three career development theories to the needs of women and identifies gaps in the current theories.

The Developmental Theory

The developmental theory is based on the hypothesis that a person's awareness of occupations varies with an individual's life stages, and that it is during the later stages of life that the awareness of occupations "crystalizes." Ginzberg (1951) was the first researcher to focus on the psychological act of choosing a career. His theory emphasizes a three-stage decision-making process: fantasy, tentative choice, and realistic choice. Movement through these stages is generally irreversible and typically takes a period of at least ten years to complete.

Super (1953) criticized Ginzberg's theory for its limitations in four areas:

> First, it does not build adequately on previous work.... Second, 'choice' is defined as preference rather than as entry or some other implementation of choice and hence means different things at different age levels.... A third defect...is the falseness of the distinction between 'choice' and 'adjustment'.... Finally, a fourth limitation...lies in the fact that, although they set out

> to study the process of occupational choice, and although they properly concluded that it is one of compromise between interests, capacities, values, and the opportunities, they did not study or describe the compromise process. (14, p. 185)

Super's work led him to suggest in 1957 that men and women have different career patterns. He limited men's working patterns to four while giving seven for women. According to Harmon (1971), Super's differing career patterns present a gap between theory and practice:

> It is interesting to note that no theorists, as yet, postulate homemaking or interrupted patterns for men. All assume lifetime span of participation in the job market for men. . . . While present developmental approaches may reflect accurately the way we currently conceptualize career development, they do not exhaust the possibilities. (8, p. 185)

Another view of the developmental theory (sometimes called the "self-concept" theory) is provided by Tiedeman and O'Hara (1963). These researchers developed a career development paradigm which symbolically represents two stages of decision-making: anticipation and implementation. Schlossberg (1972), using the Tiedeman and O'Hara model, raised the issue that women need to "fantasize" about career choices before they are able to make decisions on the same basis as men. She suggests that, because women are conditioned to limit their choices by society, this "fantasy" stage is absolutely necessary.

> Women, like all groups whose vocational development has been arrested, need special help in stretching, in raising their aspiration level, in raising their consciousness. Consciousness raising does not mean that every woman must aspire to enter 'masculine' fields or even to achieve in a career. It means simply that women should be helped to free themselves to dream. The goal is to develop human beings who are free to act in ways that are appropriate to their interests and their values--not their sex. The fact that one is born a woman should not foreordain that she will spend hours every day in the kitchen, in the laundry room, and in low level, 'feminine' occupations. (13, p. 139)

Nearly all of the earlier studies serving as the basis for the developmental theories used male subjects exclusively. The work of

Harmon (1971) and Schlossberg (1972) reveals that the developmental theories have almost completely excluded women in their perspective. Interestingly, all the theorists have been men, i.e., Ginzberg, Super, Tiedeman, and O'Hara.

The Personality Theory

The personality theory, which is predicated on the work of Holland (1973) and Roe (1956), centers on the hypothesis that people make career choices based on personality traits and characteristics. A corollary assumption is that these characteristics are conceptualized on their potential for satisfying needs. As a result, the assumption follows, individuals express their personality through their career choices. For example, all accountants develop similar personalities after exposure to their jobs--if indeed they did not have the same personality traits when they began.

Holland identified six basic personality traits: investigative, realistic, artistic, enterprising, social, and conventional. No one trait adequately describes a person, but rather a combination of traits is needed to describe a person's personality. While there are at least 720 possible combinations of the six types, typically only two or three of the types dominate as a style.

Several measures of career interests reflect Holland's personality theory (e.g., The American College Testing Program's Interest Inventory, ACT IV, 1972; the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory, SCII, 1974; and Holland's own Self-Directed Search, SDS, 1973). Several studies have documented sex bias in achievement tests and interest inventories (Birk, 1974; Diamond, 1975; and Tittle, 1974). Moreover, Harmon (1971) reminds us that Holland's findings indicate that young women and girls choose predominantly social and artistic occupations while boys and young men choose predominantly realistic (manual, mechanical, agricultural, electrical and technical) and investigative (scientific) occupations. (8, p. 4)

Roe (1956) introduced eight hypotheses centered on the relationship between early childhood experiences and personality factors, i.e., attitudes, abilities and interests. She developed a system for classifying occupations with parent-child relationships. For example, persons from child-centered families will have a major orientation toward other persons and be suited best for work in the "service," "general culture" or "arts and entertainment" occupations.

The major flaw with the system is that Roe's personality trait categories are stereotyped along sex roles. Roe, for example, has categorized people who enter "service" occupations as "dependent." Since more women than men are in the "service" occupations, females are automatically labeled "dependent."

The Sociological Theory

The sociological theory is based on the work of sociologists Miller and Form (1951), Hollingshead (1949), and Psathas (1968). This theory centers on the hypothesis that outside influences, i.e., environmental determinants, contribute the major factor in a person's career choice. Chance factors (personal determinants) are stressed in the developmental and personality theories. Obviously, career decisions do not involve a dichotomous situation--either sociological or psychological, but rather, extend along a sociological-psychological continuum. The difference, according to Osipow (1973) is primarily one of emphasis.

This theory offers the most promise for the career development of females because of the emphasis on changing environmental experiences. If, for example, girls early in their school life were provided with non-sexist career information that would increase their awareness of a wide range of career opportunities, they could make more informed career choices. Charles Brockden Brown's explanation has a familiar ring: "They cannot read who never saw an alphabet. They who know no tool but the needle, cannot be skillful at the pen." Exposure at an early age to women lawyers, engineers, school superintendents, auto mechanics, welders, politicians, policewomen and doctors would provide role models which would make these occupations more attractive and acceptable to females. Open discussions in the classroom at all levels K-12 about the changing roles of men and women in contemporary society could have a profound effect on role expectations for both sexes.

The sociological theory of career choice has the potential to teach women how to deal more effectively with their environment. Instead of viewing the world from a predestined perspective, females can take a close look at their individual circumstances with an eye towards change. Change, for women, will more easily be brought about through changing the environment than working to change personal attitudes. Moreover, changing the environmental determinants will affect the personal determinants. According to Farmer (1976), providing girls early in life with the models, information, skills and experiences that will prepare them to plan for their dual role of housewife and employed worker can help change the environmental determinants from those that restrict , to those that facilitate equal opportunity.

To summarize, career development theories about women have only recently been investigated and the past theories have almost completely excluded women in their perspective and have failed to include women as subjects. The sociological theory holds the most promise for women because it concentrates on environmental determinants while the developmental and personality theories focus on personal determinants.

This paper has attempted to prove the WHY as well as the WHAT by looking briefly at three of the most widely accepted theories of how people make career decisions. The following recommendations are offered as the HOW to change the environmental determinants which influence women's career choices:

1. Basic research needs to be conducted in the area of career development theories about women. This research should include female subjects representing all social and economic backgrounds.
2. Current theories need to reflect the reality--that is, role models in theory should reflect the current situation. Roe, for example, should redesign her categories so that they are free of sex-role stereotyping.
3. Immediate revision of all counseling materials, including interest inventories and test measurements, need to be made so that they are non-sexist.
4. Textbooks need to be purged of all sexist language and sex-role stereotyping.
5. All educational personnel need to be made aware of the detrimental effects of sexism and how they knowingly or unknowingly reinforce sexist practices. Inservice training on the subject is desperately needed.
6. Courses and programs need to reflect non-sex biased content and teaching. All levels of education require this attention. Studies devoted to the needs of women should be a part of the preservice and inservice education of teachers, counselors, administrators and media specialists.

Educators influence students in their career decisions. Experience and interests in a full range of sex-free career options can best meet society's needs and an individual's potential.

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CHAPTER 10

WOMEN IN ILLINOIS SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION
1963-64 to 1975-76

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Introduction

This brief paper chronicles what we can see easily and know already about who holds administrative positions in the field of elementary and secondary education. What we can see is that administrative roles are held primarily by men, even though the majority of all elementary and secondary teachers are women. What we know is that in 1975-76, while two of every three members of the Illinois teaching service were female, more than nine of every ten administrative positions in elementary and secondary education were held by males. Evidence indicates that nationwide the number of women holding elementary and secondary administrative positions has declined continuously since the early 1900's. This paper documents that in Illinois this male domination in administration has continued to increase from 1963-64 to 1975-76.

What is not attempted in this work is either any theoretical explanations or any normative justifications for why this decrease of women in administrative roles has occurred. What the concluding section of the paper does suggest is some research needed to examine why this male hegemony exists. The data generated for this paper document the increasing number of men holding administrative positions; other studies need to examine the reasons why the number of women holding administrative positions has declined.

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The paper thus uses Illinois Office of Education data to answer six descriptive questions. Using data for the years from 1963-64 to 1975-76, these questions are:

1) What are the actual numbers of women and men holding administrative positions?
2) What are the actual numbers of women and men who are prepared (certified) to hold administrative positions?
3) What are the degrees held by women and men who hold administrative positions and/or administrative certification?
4) What are the ages at which women and men attain administrative positions?
5) What are the institutions of the highest degree of those who hold administrative positions?
6) What differences may be seen in different counties of the state concerning the numbers of women and men who hold administrative positions?

Before turning to these questions, the reader needs to be aware of the working rules used in dealing with the information generated by the Illinois Office of Education, Research and Statistics Section.

Caveats

In order to deal with the questions, several operating decisions had to be made. The reader needs to be aware that the following decision rules are used. They are:

1) all tables were generated from data stored on Illinois Office of Education computer tapes. In the case of the data tapes prior to 1972, these tapes have neither been edited to correct obvious errors such as mispunching or coding errors, nor have

these computer printouts been verified by running other programs to check for inconsistencies. The tapes from these earlier years, most particularly the 1963-64 tape, hence contain obvious errors. The tapes from 1972 to the present have been reviewed to catch both obvious and illogical errors, although no reliability checks have been run on individual data records.

2) data were generated for the years 1963-64, 1967-68, 1971-72, and 1975-76. There were no reasons other than convenience to select four-year intervals or a twelve-year span.

3) administrative positions were defined as those of an assistant principal or higher (codes 1-12 in the Illinois Office of Education coding system). This decision excluded such positions as director, consultant, coordinator or chairperson.

4) none of these tables reflect information on the City of Chicago Board of Education. These data on the Chicago system were not available to the Illinois Office of Education.

Questions

Despite these warnings, and despite some clearly evident errors in the information, the overall trends seem clear. The numbers support our observations and common sense, overwhelmingly. Men dominate school administrative positions, and do so more and more.

Question 1: What are the actual numbers of women and men holding administrative positions?

A complete breakdown for all years and all positions is presented as Tables 1A through 4A in the Appendix. From those tables, Table 1 has been developed.

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF ADMINISTRATORS BY SELECTED POSITIONS AND SEX, EXCEPT CHICAGO

Position	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Sex	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
ESR Supt.	12	69	9	56	11	99	2	75
Dist. Supt.	63	801	54	975	46	1,018	23	945
Elem. Principal	321	1,033	432	1,488	336	1,676	269	1,840
Jr. H. S. Principal	21	211	19	327	17	409	12	441
H. S. Principal	4	335	6	421	8	492	7	566
Grand Total/all Administrative Positions	421	2,449	520	3,267	418	3,694	313	3,867
Percentage Women	17.2		15.9		11.3		8.1	

An inspection of Table 1 suggests that the percentage of women holding all administrative positions has declined over 50% in the last twelve years. In all positions except the high school principalship, the actual numbers of women have declined. In the elementary principalship, the administrative position with the greatest actual numbers of women, from 1963-64 to the present the decline has been from 321 to 269 (52). The percentage decline of female elementary principals, however, has been from 31.1% to 14.6%--a loss of 16.5%. In the category of elementary principalships, the number of actual positions has increased sharply, but seemingly men have been appointed to these "new" positions, as well as some "old" ones.

Question 2: What are the actual numbers of women and men who are prepared (certified) to hold administrative positions?

Again, complete data on this question are presented in Tables 1A-4A in the Appendix and from those tables, Table 2 has been created. Table 2 displays the percent of individuals who hold no administrative certification. The table displays graphically that in comparison to men, markedly fewer women overall seek administrative certification. Equally, while increasing age results in increased acquisition of administrative certification regardless of sex, less than one of every ten women ever gains such certification. In contrast, while one of

TABLE 2

COMPARISON BY AGE, SEX, YEAR, AND PERCENT OF TEACHING SERVICE PERSONNEL WHO HOLD NO ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION, EXCEPT CHICAGO

Holding No Administrative Certification

Age	Sex	1963-4	d*	1967-8	d*	1971-2	d*	1975-6	d*
30-34	F	98.2	7.7	97.8	8.7	98.8	8.8	99.2	9.7
	M	90.5		89.1		90.0		89.5	
35-39	F	96.5	20.3	96.4	16.4	96.9	19.0	97.6	17.9
	M	76.2		80.0		77.9		79.7	
40-44	F	96.2	23.4	95.0	25.5	95.2	28.8	95.3	26.3
	M	72.8		69.5		66.4		69.0	
45-49	F	94.5	27.3	94.4	26.0	94.0	31.9	94.5	35.4
	M	67.2		68.4		62.1		59.1	
50-54	F	92.4	31.5	93.0	29.6	92.3	31.6	92.8	36.8
	M	60.9		63.4		60.7		56.0	

*Difference

every ten men holds certification in his early 30's, by their early 50's four of every ten men hold administrative certification. In all cases, however, regardless of sex the majority of the members of the teaching service do not hold administrative certification. Finally, over the twelve year period the constancy of these percentages and differences is clear--and persistent.

Question 3: What are the degrees held by women and men who hold administrative positions and/or administrative certification?

Table 3 presents data bearing on this question. Overall, the level of educational attainment has increased sharply. Much of this increase

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TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDING ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS AND/OR ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION BY DEGREE AND SEX, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Degree	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Bachelor or less	66	183	76	203	29	109	14	54
Masters	231	2,221	291	2,854	333	3,758	289	4,052
6 Yr. Adv.	0	0	5	107	7	202	9	325
Ph. or Ed. D.	1	103	4	176	12	305	25	453
Total	298	2,507[1]	376	3,340[2]	377	4,374[3]	337	4,884[4]
Total including Missing Observations	7,816		10,448		9,713		10,292	

1) Missing Observations = 5,011
2) Missing Observations = 6,732
3) Missing Observations = 4,962
4) Missing Observations = 5,071

These missing observations represent basically individuals who either hold administrative certification but no administrative position or hold no administrative certification but administrative position.

is attributable to changes in regulations and statutes which require all personnel to gain more hours and higher degrees to obtain administrative certification. The number of certified individuals holding masters degrees has increased nearly fivefold (460%, to be exact). Those holding certification with a bachelors degree or less have dropped from 249 to 68. Importantly, the largest area of growth has been in the ranks of males who hold masters degrees or better. It would appear that males have increasingly sought both certification and advanced degrees.

Question 4: What are the ages at which men and women attain administrative positions?

Table 4 also is generated from Tables 1A-4A. As one might suspect from Table 2, the older one is the more likely one is to be appointed to an administrative position. But this relationship differs sharply by sex. Generally, for women, the older they become, the more likely it is that they may be appointed to an elementary principalship. For men, the relationship among principalships seems to be one of early appointment with a slow decline of appointment to this role in their late 40's or early 50's. This decline appears to correlate roughly with an increase in the number of men appointed to district superintendencies or central office positions. What the aggregate information suggests is that a career path exists for men which begins with an appointment to a principalship in their late 30's or early 40's and a central office position in their late 40's or early 50's. Such a pattern does not exist for women.

In terms of junior and senior high school principalships, they are, and have been, male positions. Few women seem to be appointed to these positions. Equally, but of greater import, the elementary principalship has become increasingly a position to which males are appointed.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON BY AGE, SEX, YEAR, AND SELECTED POSITIONS OF ADMINISTRATORS, EXCEPT CHICAGO

		Elementary Principal				Jr. High Principal				High School Principal				District Superintendent			
Age	Sex	63-4	67-8	71-2	75-6	63-4	67-8	71-2	75-6	63-4	67-8	71-2	75-6	63-4	67-8	71-2	75-6
30-34	F	7	8	11	13	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	6	2	0	0
	M	135	237	233	292	20	48	60	66	41	44	58	102	62	81	49	33
35-39	F	9	15	18	15	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	8	3	4	2
	M	284	291	300	302	43	63	77	78	70	79	100	98	130	150	143	86
40-44	F	13	30	27	34	0	1	5	1	0	0	1	1	8	5	6	0
	M	177	326	341	312	36	75	101	92	54	94	108	131	122	199	191	182
45-49	F	40	50	45	45	1	5	1	4	0	0	0	1	4	8	4	4
	M	116	211	328	353	28	48	64	94	44	65	88	100	118	150	217	257
50-54	F	62	77	57	46	3	2	3	3	0	0	1	1	4	6	9	2
	M	112	131	187	300	33	132	44	56	41	50	46	68	128	147	166	216
55-59	F	80	110	74	47	6	2	1	0	1	2	2	1	8	13	7	6
	M	98	118	114	146	27	30	29	29	45	52	43	32	133	128	137	121
60-64	F	65	109	70	54	4	3	2	1	2	4	1	1	2	11	9	5
	M	54	91	85	64	13	17	17	12	25	22	24	18	78	81	76	39

Question 5: What are the institutions of the highest degree of those who hold administrative positions?

Tables 5A through 5F display selected positions and selected institutions where the highest degree of administrators was earned. The institutions selected were those responsible for the greatest number of practicing administrators in 1975-76 in the state of Illinois.

TABLE 5A

SEX AND SELECTED ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS OF GRADUATES WITH OUT-OF-STATE INSTITUTIONS AS HIGHEST DEGREE, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Position	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
ESR Supt.	0	14	2	12	0	18	0	13
Dist. Supt.	2	165	8	206	7	226	4	226
Elem. Prin.	43	164	49	240	32	286	33	306
Jr. High Prin.	1	34	2	58	1	82	4	85
H. S. Prin.	0	69	2	101	4	125	1	128
Grand Total	56	544	76	771	59	1,013	56	1,040

TABLE 5B

SEX AND SELECTED ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS OF GRADUATES WITH UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA AS HIGHEST DEGREE, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Position	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
ESR Supt.	1	24	1	19	0	32	0	19
Dist. Supt.	2	225	3	277	5	263	2	203
Elem. Prin.	33	206	48	228	34	253	33	254
Jr. High Prin.	3	56	3	67	1	64	1	62
H. S. Prin.	2	107	1	106	1	107	2	97
Grand Total	48	759	63	855	53	898	44	837

From 1963-64 to 1975-76, the number of male administrators trained in out-of-state institutions nearly doubled. As is clear, the largest single "producer" of administrators in the state now is out-of-state institutions. These increases occurred nearly uniformly, particularly at the level of principalships. The number of women administrators trained out-of-state was never large, with exactly the same number in 1963-64 and 1975-76--56 (see Table 5A).

The University of Illinois-Urbana has been a consistent producer of administrators. Over the twelve-year span, the number of males and females has remained markedly constant, as well as the positions held (see Table 5B). In contrast, Northern Illinois University has increased its output of employed administrators by nearly 700%. Gains have been marked in all areas, but most notably by males in the elementary principalship (see Table 5C). Southern Illinois University-Carbondale seemed to have declined slightly since the 1971-72 period, but still prepared a high number of students who now are being appointed as district superintendents (see Table 5D). On the other hand, Illinois State University

TABLE 5C

SEX AND SELECTED ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS OF GRADUATES WITH NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY AS HIGHEST DEGREE, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Position	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
ESR Supt.	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	6
Dist. Supt.	0	20	0	51	1	71	1	72
Elem. Prin.	9	62	14	124	26	232	27	341
Jr. High Prin.	0	13	0	30	3	59	2	86
H. S. Prin.	0	5	0	14	0	24	1	50
Grand Total	11	109	14	266	33	500	39	758

TABLE 5D

SEX AND SELECTED ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS OF GRADUATES WITH SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY-CARBONDALE AS HIGHEST DEGREE, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Position	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
ESR Supt.	0	13	1	12	1	14	0	9
Dist. Supt.	1	72	2	98	4	123	4	112
Elem. Prin.	6	92	16	133	7	136	8	116
Jr. High Prin.	0	12	0	22	0	27	1	27
H. S. Prin.	0	29	0	33	0	42	0	45
Grand Total	11	243	24	353	20	414	17	381

has increased its graduates who are administratively employed by threefold. Again, the most dramatic increase has been for men at the elementary school principalship (see Table 5E). Finally, Western Illinois University has increased its employed graduates by twofold. Western has shown the sharpest decline in employed women of any of the state or out-of-state institutions--a 50% decline, although the initial number was not large (see Table 5F).

TABLE 5E

SEX AND SELECTED ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS OF GRADUATES WITH ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY AS HIGHEST DEGREE, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Position	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
ESR Supt.	0	2	0	1	0	5	0	9
Dist. Supt.	2	31	2	58	1	55	2	71
Elem. Prin.	3	47	9	77	13	100	9	110
Jr. High Prin.	0	10	1	18	0	22	0	17
H. S. Prin.	0	10	0	18	0	36	1	32
Grand Total	7	114	17	209	21	277	17	307

TABLE 5F

SEX AND SELECTED ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS OF GRADUATES WITH WESTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY AS HIGHEST DEGREE, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
Position	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
ESR Supt.	0	5	1	2	0	8	0	5
Dist. Supt.	0	34	0	54	1	61	0	57
Elem. Supt.	14	42	17	71	11	75	5	90
Jr. High Prin.	0	14	1	15	0	18	0	18
H. S. Prin.	1	19	0	21	0	30	0	47
Grand Total	17	129	20	194	18	241	8	282

In general, these tables cumulatively suggest that, first, there has been no dramatic increase in the number of practicing women administrators who were or who are trained in the state of Illinois or trained out-of-state but immigrate to Illinois. They are a persistent minority of graduates who received administrative appointments in all programs at all institutions examined. Second, men have been appointed increasingly to the elementary principalship regardless of where they have been trained. Third, Illinois attracts a large, and growing, number of out-of-state trained administrators. Finally, various institutions of higher education in states have responded differentially to the demands for training of increased number of administrators. Some have grown rapidly, some have remained relatively stable, but none selected for review have lost significantly in numbers of employed graduates.

Question 6: What differences may be seen in the different counties of the state concerning the number of women and men who hold administrative positions?

Some 15 of the 102 counties of the state were selected to display similarities and differences. The counties were selected to indicate both (1) the varying numbers of administrators in these counties and (2) different geographical regions of the state. The counties were grouped into four classes based upon the total number of administrators in each county. The size categories used were as follows: small, medium, large, and very large. The counties are not displayed by geographical region (see Table 6).

The group of seven small counties--Carroll, Galatin, Lawrence, Marshall, Massac, Pike, and Warren--suggest an upgrading of educational attainment has occurred in response to changed certification laws. In nearly all the counties the minimum degree for an administrator is now a masters degree. There is also a sprinkling of doctoral degree holders as administrators in these counties. Overall, these counties reflect a general stability or slight loss in the actual number of administrative positions. The initially small number of administrators who are women generally has declined in all these counties.

The three medium-sized counties--Jackson, Kankakee, and Marion--show increases in the total number of positions in two of the three counties. The actual number of women administrators, nonetheless, has declined in all counties. Again, the level of educational attainment has increased sharply. For example, Kankakee county had no doctoral degree administrators in 1963-64 whereas in 1975-76 it had six.

The four large counties--Champaign, Sangamon, St. Clair, and Winnebago--illustrate all the same trends. Women administrators have declined, higher degrees attained have increased, and the administrative structure is increasingly male. The counties also are beginning to reflect shifts in population with some stabilizing, e.g., Champaign, and others still growing, e.g., Winnebago.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION BY SELECTED COUNTIES OF MEMBERS OF TEACHING SERVICE WHO HOLD ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS, ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION, OR BOTH, EXCEPT CHICAGO

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
County & Degree	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Carrol								
Unknown/No degree	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	4	2	3	1	2	1	1	1
Masters	2	13	0	11	2	16	0	15
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Champaign								
Unknown/No degree	4	1	30	2	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	49	16	162	28	7	5	4	3
Masters	55	95	83	121	46	133	39	108
Advanced Cert.	0	0	1	13	3	15	3	18
Doctor	2	7	0	9	1	9	1	16
Cook								
Unknown/No degree	46	7	22	9	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	243	133	200	92	109	51	46	36
Masters	229	760	296	1,017	373	1,427	433	1,740
Advanced Cert.	0	0	2	22	0	22	2	34
Doctor	5	71	7	104	10	155	23	222
Gallatin								
Unknown/No degree	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	0
Masters	0	8	1	7	2	7	2	8
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson								
Unknown/No degree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	10	5	11	6	9	4	2	0
Masters	12	31	12	38	10	58	7	65
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	5
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kankakee								
Unknown/No degree	1	1	3	0	2	0	1	0
Bachelors	19	14	12	12	12	7	10	6
Masters	18	50	22	41	17	60	12	73
Advanced Cert.	0	0	2	12	2	9	2	6
Doctor	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	5
Lawrence								
Unknown/No degree	1	1	2	2	4	0	0	0
Bachelors	4	8	1	5	0	4	0	1
Masters	4	22	4	22	6	23	6	21
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	1963-64		1967-68		1971-72		1975-76	
County & Degree	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Marion								
Unknown/No degree	4	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	12	12	14	13	5	9	3	3
Masters	9	25	9	37	14	42	7	35
Advanced Cert.	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	7
Doctor	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Marshall								
Unknown/No degree	2	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
Bachelors	8	2	3	4	1	2	2	0
Masters	1	12	2	10	2	12	1	11
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Massac								
Unknown/No degree	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	4	5	4	7	2	4	2	1
Masters	1	14	3	19	2	20	2	21
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pike								
Unknown/No degree	1	0	4	1	1	0	0	0
Bachelors	10	5	6	6	4	5	1	0
Masters	2	15	1	14	1	19	0	15
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sangamon								
Unknown/No degree	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0
Bachelors	33	12	22	11	25	15	12	6
Masters	31	88	29	98	45	113	38	122
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	4
Doctor	1	1	3	5	1	11	1	7
St. Clair								
Unknown/No degree	2	1	6	1	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	85	40	47	27	38	15	18	6
Masters	57	114	61	143	69	187	67	213
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	11
Doctor	0	2	0	3	2	4	3	10
Warren								
Unknown/No degree	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelors	14	3	9	8	4	0	1	0
Masters	4	15	4	19	5	24	0	22
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Winnebago								
Unknown/No degree	11	1	5	0	1	0	0	0
Bachelors	26	17	19	21	44	21	12	5
Masters	4	37	39	123	60	173	59	210
Advanced Cert.	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	7
Doctor	0	0	0	5	1	5	1	4

The only very large county--Cook, except for Chicago--illustrates the rapid growth of administrators over this period, the increased advanced degree structure, and the male dominance of administration. In 1963-64, 35% (523 of 1,490) of the administrators were women. By 1975-76 this percent had dropped to 19.9% (504-2,536) although the total number of administrators had nearly doubled. It should be noted also that Cook county has by far the largest number of actual administrators--both male and female. Finally, the increase in degrees is clear as the number of doctoral degree administrators in the county, for example, has increased some 300%.

Hence, statewide the number of males in administration generally increased markedly regardless of area or size of county.

Comments

The tables presented are a description of the status of women in elementary and secondary school administration in Illinois from 1963-64 to 1975-76. These tables and the brief narrative provide no basis for analysis of why the decline has occurred. What is clear is that:

1) males have increased markedly their hegemony in the field of educational administration in the last dozen years;

2) males have been appointed to the "new" positions created by enrollment gains of the 1960's;

3) males have earned advanced degrees which also gain administrative certification at a much greater rate than females;

4) males attain administrative positions earlier than females and seem to participate in administrative career ladders, e.g., principalship to superintendency;

5) females have "lost" increasingly elementary principalships to males, and as females age, their chances of gaining an elementary principalship increase only slightly;

6) institutions of higher education have produced an increasing number of administrators, but almost exclusively those appointed to administrative positions have been male;

7) Illinois attracts a large number of male out-of-state trained administrators and this attraction has doubled over the last decade; and,

8) across the state, administrative personnel in the counties reflect higher educational attainment and increased male domination.

The findings beg for explanation. Why is it the case that these shifts have occurred in the last twelve years? The data generated for this paper can provide no answers to this question. The following, however, are preliminary suggestions for needed research on this issue.

First, it may be that so few women seek certification because of blatant discrimination at both training institutions and employing districts. Institutions and districts may accept and hire using the most powerful and sexist stereotypes of work and career lives of women.

Second, it may be that the increased level of educational attainment required by administrative certification somehow has hindered the certification of women. One perplexing set of information involves both the very small number of women who seek administrative certification and the constancy of this percentage over time.

Third, it may be that over the last decade or so there has been an out-migration of talented women to other fields, e.g., law, medicine. This out-migration may have occurred at the exact moment that, had women sought certification, they might have captured leadership roles. Or, it may be that the out-migration occurred in such a fashion that women who would have gained necessary experience and training for administrative positions came into and left education too rapidly to prepare for and to be appointed to administrative positions.

Fourth, it may be that the high levels of conflict in schools in the late 1960's and early 1970's reinforced the stereotypic notion that males are needed to deal both with rancorous conflict and with the male dominated leadership of most communities. Under these assumptions, what was believed to be necessary in educational leadership was an assertive, clubby male who could "glad hand," bargain, and fight with growingly hostile factions.

Finally, it may be that as the number of districts has decreased and the size of schools has increased generally, women have been less drawn to the increased managerial duties of school administration.

Whatever may be the cause or causes of the decline, it is real. If the decline continues unchecked and at this same rate, by 1988 there will be virtually no women in administrative positions in elementary and secondary education. Hopefully, this paper has drawn this state of affairs to the attention of policy makers in institutions such as the Illinois Office of Education or the Illinois Board of Higher Education and to members of departments in institutions of higher education currently training new administrators. The nearly complete exclusion of women from administrative positions in elementary and secondary education, a very possible state of affairs in the next dozen or so years in Illinois, certainly deserves careful scrutiny, if not more vigorous action.

APPENDIX: Tables 1A to 4A

TABLE 1A

COMPARISON OF TEACHING SERVICE BY AGE, SEX, ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION HELD, NO ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION, AND PERCENT HOLDING ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION FOR 1963-64, EXCEPT CHICAGO

Age	Sex	ESR Supt	ESR Asst Supt	Dist Supt	Dist Adm Staff	Dist Asst Supt	Dist Bus Mgr	Elem Prin	Asst Elem Prin	Jr High Prin	Asst Jr High Prin	H.S. Prin	Asst H.S. Prin	No Admin Cert	Total	% Holding No Admin Cert
Under 24	F	2	2	11	13	7	3	15	1	3	5	0	0	4,863	4,879	99.7
	M	0	1	5	1	0	5	6	2	2	5	0	1	1,329	1,337	99.4
25-29	F	3	0	7	4	3	6	7	0	2	5	0	0	5,321	5,353	99.4
	M	2	2	12	6	5	8	45	7	6	3	12	6	4,596	4,699	97.8
30-34	F	0	0	6	1	1	1	7	1	0	0	0	0	2,340	2,383	98.2
	M	3	4	62	14	8	9	135	9	20	14	41	12	3,861	4,267	90.5
35-39	F	4	0	8	4	1	1	9	1	2	3	1	1	2,407	2,495	96.5
	M	4	9	130	29	26	19	284	6	43	18	70	29	2,689	3,528	76.2
40-44	F	0	1	8	4	4	1	13	2	0	4	0	3	3,003	3,121	96.2
	M	6	4	122	14	27	12	177	4	36	16	54	17	1,798	2,470	72.8
45-49	F	0	5	4	6	6	0	40	0	1	3	0	2	3,849	4,072	94.5
	M	10	3	118	13	13	11	116	3	28	3	44	18	1,023	1,522	67.2
50-54	F	0	6	4	6	6	0	62	1	3	1	0	1	4,436	4,803	92.4
	M	14	4	128	12	33	2	112	5	33	5	41	13	884	1,451	60.9
55-59	F	1	4	8	6	4	1	80	2	6	3	1	1	4,767	5,186	91.9
	M	11	1	133	12	25	6	98	0	27	3	45	17	734	1,293	56.8
60-64	F	2	1	2	6	5	0	65	0	4	1	2	1	3,056	3,325	91.9
	M	15	2	78	6	13	7	54	1	13	2	25	10	416	748	55.6
65-69	F	0	1	4	2	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	2	765	838	91.3
	M	3	3	11	2	3	0	6	0	3	0	2	1	88	147	59.9
70 and over	F	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	136	144	94.4
	M	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	14	42.9

Missing Observations = 2,031

TABLE 2A

COMPARISON OF TEACHING SERVICE BY AGE, SEX, ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION HELD, NO ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION, AND PERCENT HOLDING ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION FOR 1967-68, EXCEPT CHICAGO

Age	Sex	ESR Supt	ESR Asst Supt	Dist Supt	Dist Adm Staff	Dist Asst Supt	Dist Bus Mgr	Elem Prin	Asst Elem Prin	Jr High Prin	Asst Jr High Prin	H.S. Prin	Asst H.S. Prin	No Admin Cert	Total	% Holding No Admin Cert
Under 24	F	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	7,154	7,168	99.8
	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	2,100	2,108	99.6
25-29	F	2	1	3	0	0	0	3	2	1	3	0	0	10,493	10,550	99.5
	M	1	1	17	11	2	4	62	18	9	6	12	9	6,886	7,000	98.4
30-34	F	0	0	2	1	0	0	8	4	1	2	0	0	3,847	3,935	97.8
	M	2	3	81	32	16	10	237	25	48	27	44	29	4,501	5,049	89.1
35-39	F	1	2	3	3	0	0	15	3	1	1	0	3	3,394	3,520	96.4
	M	3	8	150	50	51	18	291	13	63	35	79	47	3,416	4,270	80.0
40-44	F	0	0	5	2	1	0	30	3	1	4	0	2	3,730	3,926	95.0
	M	6	6	199	54	66	25	326	11	75	21	94	50	2,483	3,575	69.5
45-49	F	1	1	8	9	2	1	50	4	5	2	0	5	4,414	4,677	94.4
	M	7	4	150	28	39	15	211	8	48	10	65	43	1,645	2,405	68.4
50-54	F	0	4	6	4	2	1	77	6	2	3	0	2	4,767	5,124	93.0
	M	7	7	147	29	22	10	131	3	32	3	50	20	1,034	1,632	63.4
55-59	F	1	5	13	3	6	1	110	7	2	1	2	3	4,843	5,305	91.3
	M	13	6	128	18	26	9	118	1	30	4	52	11	868	1,441	60.2
60-64	F	1	10	11	4	2	0	109	6	3	0	4	1	3,963	4,321	91.7
	M	12	2	81	9	13	6	91	0	17	2	22	7	543	930	58.4
65-69	F	0	1	2	1	2	0	29	1	1	0	0	0	1,202	1,322	90.9
	M	3	2	22	5	2	2	15	1	3	1	3	1	129	221	58.4
70 and over	F	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	162	171	94.7
	M	2	2	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	19	52.6

Missing Observations = 3,429

TABLE 3A

COMPARISON OF TEACHING SERVICE BY AGE, SEX, ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION HELD, NO ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION, AND PERCENT HOLDING ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION FOR 1971-72, EXCEPT CHICAGO

Age	Sex	ESR Supt	ESR Asst Supt	Dist Supt	Dist Adm Staff	Dist Asst Supt	Dist Bus Mgr	Elem Prin	Asst Elem Prin	Jr High Prin	Asst Jr High Prin	H.S. Prin	Asst H.S. Prin	No Admin Cert	Total	% Holding No Admin Cert
Under 24	F	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	7,966	7,970	99.9
	M	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	2,089	2,094	99.8
25-29	F	4	0	1	2	0	3	2	2	2	1	0	2	15,631	15,648	99.9
	M	0	2	12	17	3	7	71	20	13	23	22	11	9,739	9,909	98.3
30-34	F	0	0	0	3	0	2	11	4	2	0	1	0	5,885	5,957	98.8
	M	2	5	49	34	17	19	233	16	60	42	58	55	5,841	6,491	90.0
35-39	F	1	1	4	2	0	2	18	3	0	1	1	1	4,305	4,442	96.9
	M	3	9	143	52	49	15	300	24	77	44	100	60	3,777	4,850	77.9
40-44	F	1	2	6	2	2	0	27	3	5	4	1	2	4,698	4,937	95.2
	M	13	14	191	61	97	21	341	8	101	30	108	71	2,779	4,185	66.4
45-49	F	0	1	4	4	2	0	45	5	1	4	0	4	4,499	4,786	94.0
	M	11	21	217	43	73	19	328	6	64	12	88	54	2,111	3,401	62.1
50-54	F	1	4	9	10	1	1	57	3	3	0	1	6	4,828	5,228	92.3
	M	17	11	166	25	29	14	187	5	44	12	46	37	1,326	2,186	60.7
55-59	F	0	7	7	7	3	0	74	6	1	5	2	2	4,538	4,985	91.0
	M	18	7	137	22	28	14	114	2	29	5	43	12	887	1,508	58.2
60-64	F	0	10	9	3	1	0	70	5	2	3	1	1	3,724	4,144	89.9
	M	24	9	76	10	19	5	85	1	17	4	24	9	597	1,031	57.9
65-69	F	0	8	5	0	1	0	30	2	0	0	1	0	1,172	1,313	89.3
	M	9	4	22	5	3	0	14	0	2	0	3	1	148	257	57.6
70 and over	F	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	92	101	91.1
	M	1	6	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	20	25.0

Missing Observations = 41

TABLE 4A

COMPARISON OF TEACHING SERVICE BY AGE, SEX, ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION HELD, NO ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION, AND PERCENT HOLDING ADMINISTRATIVE CERTIFICATION FOR 1975-76, EXCEPT CHICAGO

Age	Sex	ESR Supt	ESR Asst Supt	Dist Supt	Dist Adm Staff	Dist Asst Supt	Dist Bus Mgr	Elem Prin	Asst Elem Prin	Jr High Prin	Asst Jr High Prin	H.S. Prin	Asst H.S. Prin	No Admin Cert	Total	% Holding No Admin Cert
Under 24	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5,160	5,160	100.0
	M	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,381	1,382	99.9
25-29	F	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	18,890	19,017	99.8
	M	0	1	5	12	0	4	58	14	12	22	16	12	8,907	9,111	97.8
30-34	F	0	0	0	3	0	0	13	0	0	1	1	1	9,356	9,436	99.2
	M	1	12	33	34	23	13	292	31	66	68	102	66	8,295	9,271	89.5
35-39	F	0	3	2	7	0	1	15	6	2	0	1	1	5,813	5,954	97.6
	M	5	12	86	45	42	24	302	7	78	37	98	90	4,489	5,635	79.7
40-44	F	0	1	0	4	2	3	34	2	1	4	1	0	5,049	5,298	95.3
	M	12	19	182	51	70	18	312	10	92	33	131	72	3,190	4,625	69.0
45-49	F	1	1	4	1	1	2	45	6	4	2	1	3	5,264	5,571	94.5
	M	16	9	257	48	86	26	353	13	94	21	100	66	2,363	3,995	59.1
50-54	F	0	0	2	5	6	1	46	6	3	1	1	6	4,421	4,764	92.8
	M	18	16	216	47	63	17	300	5	56	17	68	47	1,728	3,085	56.0
55-59	F	1	1	6	7	4	0	47	5	0	2	1	4	4,257	4,633	91.9
	M	15	5	121	11	34	16	146	0	29	5	32	21	990	1,719	57.6
60-64	F	0	4	5	4	0	1	54	3	1	0	1	1	2,653	2,950	89.9
	M	5	8	39	9	16	8	64	2	12	5	18	4	460	768	59.9
65-69	F	0	0	2	1	0	0	9	2	1	0	0	0	522	579	90.2
	M	2	2	6	1	3	0	13	0	2	1	1	0	74	126	58.7
70 and over	F	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	23	26	88.5
	M	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	33.3

CHAPTER 11

UNLOCKING HUMAN POTENTIAL

Patricia Ann Chesebro
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"A good education consists in giving to the body, and to the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable."--Plato. If we would add "to the spirit," we would have a goal that encompasses the humanistic dreams of today.

"Treat (hu-) mankind, both as represented in yourself or any other human being, never merely as a means but, also, always as an end."--Kant. The principle of the Golden Rule has been a guide for human behavior for all the major religions of the world, but Kant's statement is more directive than the commonly recited Biblical verse. Do not use people (as we have used our natural resources), enslave them, or ignore them for our personal gain; instead, promote them, aid them in achieving their aspirations. Jersild identifies compassion as the ultimate trait of humaneness. One must relate with others in order to know them, their needs, their dreams, their suffering, in order to be sympathetic and responsive. The wider open the doors of education to all, the closer we attain the goal of permitting each individual to develop the capabilities of one's potential.

The history of civilization is the history of extending freedom to more and more people. We are in a period of very rapid technological change and also great social change. The current surge to extend to

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hitherto unidentified groups of people the right to live and die with dignity can be explained by several events of the relatively recent years. As a result of historical events, new theories are evolving about human development and human sexuality which foretell an evolutionary thrust. It's an exciting adventure--as challenging for the educator as a moonshot for the engineer.

Our technological society has resulted from men's desire to know and explore the world outside themselves. The male dominated industrial complex, universities, and research centers, based on traditional male values and norms, have developed logic and rational thought to such limits that, if pursued uncontrolled, could self-destruct. In the clamor for extension of knowledge and attainment of power, leaders (usually male) have waged wars, littered the earth, used vast amounts of natural and human resources, and scrambled over one another in their climb to success. Many have been oblivious to human and natural resources laid waste.

Acknowledging the possibility of a nuclear war bearing the seeds of human destruction changes the focus on the quality of life. The spectrum of death forces attention to life and human values. With new appreciation of all life forms comes a new perspective of the potentiality of humans and concomitantly a realization of the need to admit the strengths of both sexes and all peoples.

There are those who trace our ecological awareness to the moonshot that focused the cameras not only on the moon, but on the earth (6:121). One becomes aware of both the goal and the path left behind. The process may be more important than the product. "The medium is the message." Rather than becoming polar opposites, life and death, earth and moon, light and dark, man and woman with their similarities rather than differences are seen as complements of a larger whole. In the search for the finite limits of human capabilities, those most involved become sensitized to the finite, but they also gain new insights into the infinite. Those who have been to the moon, ought not only to have better understanding of the physical universe, but to have also gained new insights of God and human relationships.

Mythology and religion have served to give humans a perspective of life and guidelines or rules for the good life. The Western World is understood only by understanding the Judeo-Christian ethic which has served as its dominant ideology. It has provided the image of God the Father which has served for two thousand years. If the ultimate is male, what ideology is available for female but to be subordinate? If one is subordinate to others, then one's potential is determined by others, not by self.

When the nomadic Israelites who worshiped the male as protector, guardian and hunter, merged with the Canaanites, who worshiped the mother-goddess, the monotheistic God as Father emerged. The procreation powers of the female worshiped by the agricultural society were consumed by the male ethic. As East and West are joined by modern transportation, cultural variances in the conception of God become known. The image of God and resultant perspective of life is present at any diplomatic meeting and is a factor in any negotiations to preserve peace. With the sword of Damocles, fear of nuclear haulocaust, present for both sides of the conference tables, comes the urgent need to keep peace and to try to understand each other--a new appreciation of human values. Eastern religions do not envision a personal God; God is a force, an energy, but is attributed no human characteristics. Hence a different perspective of life and death. As the Israelites and Canaanites merged into a new consciousness, so probably will the East and West.

In the Western World, the concept that God is both female and male is gaining acceptance--shocking to many, but meaningful to increasing numbers of women and men. Such a concept leads to a reexamination of the Bible with identification of "games" translators play and recognition of the male orientation of the language. Therefore, new non-sexist translations are needed to incorporate the new ideology. A young women pleads for both her and God's new image:

> O God, I am chained to my images-
>   Daughter
>   Sister
>   Tomboy
>   Brain
>   Sweetheart
>   Housewife
>   Mother
>   Chauffer
>   Cook
>   Hostess
>
> All of these am I? Torn?
>   Disintegrated?
>   Or none?
>   No, I cannot deny them.
>   They have become a part of me.
>   But somewhere.
> Slipping silently between the images,
>
> Is there someone else?
>
>   Someone. whole?
>   Poet?
>   Pastor?
>   Mystic?
>   Scholar?
>   Music Maker?
>   Counselor?
>   Lover?
>   Friend?
>   How shall I know?

And you, God,
are you also chained and hidden
By your images, your names,
your roles?
Creator
Judge
Father
Redeemer
King
Savior
Christ
Son of God
Holy Spirit
Light

Are you also lost among the images,
Struggling to emerge into new
roles,
Fresh revelations of your real self?
Are you not also

Poet
Artist?
Mother?
Daughter?
Mystery?
Becoming?
Suffering?
Loving?
Changing?
Singing
Rejoicing?
Darkness?
Despair?

Can we emerge together, you and I?
Can we break the chains that bind us
and move out into the fresh air of
liberation?

Call me into being, God!
And let me catch a glimpse of you
as you really are
in this moment of time and eternity!

Betsy Phillips Fisher (2:23)

We inherited the English law in which a husband owned a wife, both her person and her property. While the forefathers could found a new form of government representative for the privileged, partial justice was not extended to women until 1920, with suffrage, and is yet to be fulfilled by passing the Equal Rights Amendment. Abigail Adams pleaded with her husband to "abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassels of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings..." Her husband refused to "repeal our Masculine systems." Jefferson added insult by favoring the exclusion of women in decision-making councils "to prevent deprivation of morals."

Another advance of technology that is changing the social scene is the Pill. In a society where women had only recently been the property of men, women can control (if given the technology) one aspect of the future of the human race--a power as much a threat to men as the nuclear bomb. Their voices cannot be silenced on such a personal matter. They must be listened to on a different plane--one of equality. The feminine principle is gaining in stature, is being recognized and is being incorporated into the ideology. Is it justice that laws be made by men for women without the latter being represented in equal numbers, in the legislature, councils, and courts of decision making? The Pill makes the point clearly; the principle can be generalized to all situations affecting women.

Consider also the force of language in limiting or unleashing human potential. The male dominance that has prevailed in society is reflected in the term "man" which designates both generic and gender. To speak of "mankind" and "manhood" is a powerful means of denying women a place in society and in denying them membership in the supraclass.

Which comes first--social change or linguistic change? Which is cause and which effect? There is no research to provide the answer. I view language as a thermostat of social change.

Language reflects society--its values, ideals, goals and dreams. True equality cannot be granted or conferred. It is a state neither given nor received. It is. But until we achieve that day, we can make a conscious decision to try to change. Adopting non-sexist language is a giant step in the process of eliminating discrimination for women and abolishing prejudiced definitions of women's roles. A new dimension of human kindness is becoming to and compliments both the addressed and the addressor. Prejudice and discrimination bottleneck human potential.

In the male dominated society, any sex differences that have been identified have been valued as positive for male and negative for female. Qualities and traits identified as male were valued and considered normative and any who differed were the deviants. Even developmental theorists erred in this direction. Havighurst's developmental tasks have provided guidelines for schools to understand adolescence and to design curricular changes to meet these needs (5:40). Achieving economic independence was a requisite task for personality development and psychological maturity. This has been interpreted as necessary for boys but not for girls. Not until the passage of The Equal Pay Act in 1963 was this principle of equality adopted into the legal code. In reality we have regressed, for today the average woman worker earns only 57% of the earnings of the typical man, whereas in 1963 she earned 65%. The typical woman college graduate earns less than the average man with less than an eighth grade education.

The typical housewife in our technological society has been deprived of the butter and egg money of an agricultural society. About the only way she can be economically independent today is to work outside the home. In a Woman's Crisis Center, the first 25 women who were admitted had two commonalities: (1) they had not a dollar they could call their own and (2) they had been physically abused. One woman was in and out three times bearing visible knife wounds, but she could not complete the break. How does one suddenly become employable when one has never been employed? Where are the recommendations? Who provides for the children? How does one repay a month's rent and security deposit?

Many of the inequities of the Social Security system are alerting women to the false economic security of marriage. Under present regulations, many of the benefits to women accrue only through the husband. If women are married for less than twenty years and are divorced, they have no portable equity. If they are married more than twenty years and then divorced, the benefits are dependent upon his death or retirement.

Of those working, 2/3 of the women earn less than $7000 while 3/4 of the men earn more than $7000. Only 7% of women earn over $10,000 while 40% of men do. Women work because they have to, for self support or for family supplement, not just for pin money; 42% of the women in the labor force are single, widowed, divorced, or separated. One out of 7 children is living in a family headed by a woman. Women's reduced opportunities for income relegate many of these children to impoverished environments. Women over age 65 are the most economically depressed and disadvantaged group in America; the median income for them is only $1900--poverty level.

And so we glibly teach of the necessity of economic independence to achieve psychological maturity; but business, industry, and government move slowly in offering economic equality.

Equal pay for equal work is the law of the land. But other factors work to deflat women's economic power. Much of women's work is not counted, for housework is not considered in the Gross National

Product. Nor is women's work valued. A new concept for achieving economic equity stipulates equal pay for work of equal value. This principle calls for reexamining women's work, revaluing it, and revising the job classifications in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles to upgrade the value placed upon traditional woman's work. If a society respects all human beings, caring for children should be valued as highly as caring for animals. Men earn a new degree of self-respect by helping this to occur and thereby achieve a higher state of being and humanism.

One's legal status determines the value placed upon that person by society. The following incident illustrates the influence of legal rights upon respect from others and upon one's self-concept. In the early nineteen hundreds, a widow, with two children to rear and parents to provide for, inherited a small monument business. Her hard work, perspicacity and thriftiness built a prosperous business. After receiving the vote, she noted that the cemetery trustees treated her with a deference never before afforded, a respect that reflected the power of retribution. A balance of power changed the quality of the relationships which in turn enhanced her chances for economic gain. One's potential is partially determined by one's legal status.

Erik Erikson has theorized that an identity crisis must be overcome in order to progress through the subsequent stages of maturity; and that this crisis must be resolved in adolescence. In a technological society the identity confusion is least experienced by those who have the skills that fit in with the needs of the expanding technology. Many women are denied that access. Many individuals become what they can do. A by-product of technological identities is the creation of "compartments of pronounced narrowness, of enforced service and of limited status." It also leads to "entrenched privileges, enforced sacrifices, institutionalized inequities and built-in contradictions which become obvious to the critics of any society" (1:32).

Erikson believes our identity is established not only by what we are but also by what we are not. Those aspects of ourselves which are suppressed or denied become our negative identity and become those characteristics we ascribe to those we wish to denigrate. This process limits the growth of both identifier and identified. The subgroups to whom the negative identity is addressed may take those qualities and utilize them for establishing their positive identity; for example: black is beautiful, womanhood is good; serve to challenge the ascribed negative identity. Of such, movements are sometimes born, and this is good. Periodically humans need a new ideology both personally and historically. Erikson believes that the nuclear threat is thrusting people into accepting each other regardless of race, creed, color, sex, or national origin as members of the human race and hence reducing the negative identities. (1:172-76, 195-6). Erikson's ideas are humanistic. But, to sell the book, the cover of a paperback edition of Erikson's Identity: Youth and Crisis is illustrated by the statue of David!

A key in unlocking human potential has been the Women's Movement by providing a catalyst for casting aside outmoded sexual stereotypes and valuing cooperation rather than competition. In comparison to business and government, schools are the slowest to change. Head Start and similar programs spurred by Piagetian thought have sought to build the skills essential for logical thought, and hence intellectual development. Many of the remedial programs in elementary schools have been developed to help boys achieve.

The drug culture has challenged the main stream of society by arousing fears of brain damage and has spurred research into altered states of consciousness non-chemically produced. New interest in intuitive thought and new understandings of the brain are awakening researchers to the need for methods to educate both sides of the brain. Perhaps acknowledging the feminine stereotype of intuitive thought and improving the status of women will release a synergetic force to speed the transformation of society.

Erikson's theory of identity crisis is a basis of concern for the critical period of adolescence and its importance in achieving psychological maturity. We need to reexamine the institutions that help shape the preadolescents, adolescents, and late adolescents and to redesign these environments for optimal growth. Federal laws may force some study and new priorities, but educators should be the leaders not the followers. Elizabeth Douvan and her colleagues have found that high schools are not as responsive to girls' needs as they are to boys'! In their surveys, 90% of the girls expected to pursue both the wife-mother role plus the career or professional role, yet 90% of the schools considered only the former (4:36-7).

While every major business and university has an affirmative action policy, such policies are practically nonexistent in the public schools. While business and industry seek out qualified women for management internship, few counterparts are to be found in school administrations. Women should be represented in all councils of decision making, but what models are being presented to children and young adults? While the number of women in administrative positions in business and industry slowly increase, the numbers in school administration continue to decline. Some businesses project 40% of management will be women by 1980. Where are the schools?

New movements express needs for new ideologies. A new theory of sexuality, androgyny, may be the guiding spirit or energy for a new age that transcends the polarities of masculinity and femininity. Andro-(male) and gyne-(female) are symbolic of all polarities such as light and dark, rational and intuitive, science and religion, sun and moon, all of which in the beginning were fused in one. According to Jungian psychology, the androgyne is an archetype, existing only in the unconscious but representative of a universal and collective image. The principle is not new; new theory sheds light on the androgyne of ancient mythology and religion. One may attempt to understand the androgyne by means of the rational method, but one may truly know it only through intuition, meditation, or nonrational means.

Because masculine and feminine conjure meanings assigned to the stereotyped sex roles we are moving away from, perhaps one can better understand androgyny by comparing rational and intuitive. In the past, these two ways of thinking have been viewed as polar opposites. Yet many scientists acknowledge a "hunch" or a "dream" or an inspirational flash as responsible for a new discovery. Likewise, an artist may be dependent on the intuitive images for the design or composition, but logic and reason are essential in the development of the concept and the utilization of raw materials to effect the product. When viewed from a suprasystem, rational thought and intuitive thought are complementary functions of the larger order. They are not separate functions, but rather compound parts of a larger whole.

If one would perceive masculine and feminine as two flows of energy, an in and an out, to and fro with the motion circular, one could not identify the exact moment when "to" becomes "fro" and "fro" becomes "to." So it is with an androgynous person. The peron's life is a flowing process, alternating between what has formerly been identified as masculine and feminine with no identification of which is currently dominant, for each is dominant and each is passive.

Thus, one result of increasing numbers of androgynous persons will be the elimination of categorization of traits and behaviors as masculine or feminine. Rather, each personality will be viewed as a distinct whole and will not be characterized by parts of that whole. The person will behave in harmony with the total being of that person. Life will be a continuous growth process. And we will achieve that democratic ideal--respect for the uniqueness of each individual. Seeming opposites will be permitted to find expression in any individual.

"Without a sense of disjunction, the person will become at once tender and firm, flexible and strong, ambiguous and precise, focused in thinking and diffused in awareness, nurturing and guiding, giving and receiving. It will be like listening to a duet skillfully played by a pianist and a violinist, when one does not hear the two separate instruments so much as the harmonious interplay between them. Androgyny is to be experienced as a conversation where every sentence builds on the totality of what has gone before, and not as a succession of alternating brief speeches. In an androgynous interaction, an individual knows the simultaneous working of that intuitive aspect by which he/she is able to encompass wholes, with the sensate aspect wherein each minute element of a situation is seen and felt in its relationship to the totality" (7:277).

The androgynous person listens, is aware, and responds with every aspect of one's being. One has a sense of fit not only with self, but with others and the universe. The theory provides a synthesis for body, mind and spirit which generates optimal development for the totality and the process of continuing change. The energy flows back and forth from person out to the universe and back to the person. The "thou shalt not's" and the "thou shalt's" will no longer be essential for societal order. The interchange and freedom of movement, with the resultant effects, may change society so rapidly that formal law and order will no longer be essential. There will be "no holds barred" for there will be no need for such restrictions; when one is aware of and considers the relationship between one's act and the totality, individual good and societal good become one and the same. If all humans were permitted to fulfill their potential, were permitted to freely grow rather than to become what someone else needs them to become, then everyone would be both the educator and the educated.

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